Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-91-100 *23 May 1991*

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Diplomatic Ties To Be Reestablished With UK

AU2205210591 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 2000 GMT 22 May 91

[Report on interview with Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani by unidentified reporter on 22 May; place not given—recorded]

[Text] News agencies reported this afternoon that Britain has agreed to the reestablishment of diplomatic relations with Albania, broken off more than 50 years ago. Minister of State Douglas Hogg reported this decision in a speech to the British Parliament. He said that Britain has agreed in principle to reestablish relations in response to an offer made earlier this month in London by Albanian Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani during his visit to the British capital. In connection with this new development, we met Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani this afternoon.

[Kapllani] It is true that we too, as a government and Foreign ministry, have received through diplomatic channels, via the British Embassy in Rome, a report of Minister of State Douglas Hogg's statement in Parliament in connection with the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between Albania and Britain.

What I can add on this occasion is that, as is well known, I was in London together with Prime Minister Fatos Nano on the 13th of this month, invited by the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and this bank's president, Mr. Jacques Attali. Our presence in London was an opportunity to meet and talk with our British colleagues. We were invited to the Foreign Office, the British foreign ministry, and I met on this occasion Minister of State Mr. Douglas Hogg, at the Foreign Office, and also deputy secretary of state Mr. (?Jackson) and Michael Tait, and we there discussed once again what our two countries will do to bring to an end this long [word indistinct] and to close this almost 50-year-long chapter in the relations between our two countries. We had open and sincere discussions, and now, with the news we have received through diplomatic channels, from the British Embassy, it is more than clear that our two countries will very soon, in a matter of days, communicate the declaration of the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between Albania and Britain.

At the same time, [words indistinct], the resumption of talks between our two delegations at the appropriate level to provide a full and conclusive solution to the matters still pending in the relations between our two countries will also be announced.

Strike Enters Seventh Day; Details Reported

AU2205153091

[Editorial Report] Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian at 1330 GMT on 22 May devotes 30 minutes of its extended 50-minute newscast to reports on the continuing general strike.

Sokol Perihati states: "The general strike entered its seventh day today. Thus, our economy's production has been paralyzed for one week. The factories and mines are silent. The railroad and bus stations are empty." Recorded interviews with Tirana workers follow. One worker states: "The Council of Ministers' communique does not meet the demands we are now making." All those interviewed support a continuation of the strike.

The announcer states: "We have just received a report that President Ramiz Alia met a group of trade unionists from the oil industry this morning. He held a constructive talk with them in a spirit of understanding." At this point, the cast becomes unmonitorable for three minutes. Alia is then reported as saying: "Workers in every sector must understand that the government can do nothing beyond the real possibilities that exist. Work, and work alone can create conditions for our further progress. The president went on to say that a failure to resume work seems to me to be in the interest of someone who wishes the strike to go on for reasons that are quite different from workers' economic interests. It must be clear to everybody that such aims are dangerous and could lead to a general destabilization of the country, with incalculable consequences. Every honest Albanian, conscientious worker, and citizen of the country must dissociate himself from such aims, and not allow himself to fall prey to purposes that do not serve either the people or Albania, especially in the current turbulent situation prevailing in our region."

Recorded interviews follow from an indistinct agricultural enterprise, where work is continuing. An official of the enterprise states: "We have many problems now. The first is the general strike that has included all the republic's working people, industrial workers especially. Agricultural workers have continued to work normally. This is not because they are against the strike. They are in solidarity with the strike; however, we are obliged to work because of the problems of agriculture. Everybody is on strike, and agricultural workers must feed them."

Telephone reports from district correspondents follow. In Lezhe, "the strike now involves 70 percent of the district's workers," and "the Council of Ministers' communique has not only not pacified the situation, but has made the strikers more determined in their demands." Peasants are reported to have distributed free milk and cheese to the strikers.

In Vlore, 31 enterprises involving 16,000 workers are reported on strike. Local bus drivers are reported to have joined the strike today. In Kruje, "a mass rally has been held at Kruje castle," at which "speakers stated that the strike will continue until all working people's demands are met." Agricultural workers are continuing to work: "For example, work has not stopped at the Gjorm agricultural enterprise, although workers are in solidarity with the workers' demands. We are not strike breakers, workers said to us when we met them hoeing beet in the fields, but the season's work has to be done on time."

In Elbasan, the strike is "total, apart from the bakery, the meat and milk processing plants, the retail sector, and the coke furnaces." "A mass rally was organized today in the square in front of the Labinot Stadium." "After the rally, which took place in accordance with the law, the participants demonstrated in a correct fashion in Qemal Stafa Boulevard."

The announcer then reads an Industry Ministry communique: "Workers in the shoe and clothing sector who work for foreign firms and with materials supplied by contractors and for joint enterprises have joined the general strike. They number about 2,200 workers in the manufacture of shoes in Shkoder, Korce, and Tirana, and about 2,000 others in the clothing industry in Korce and Tirana, the Korce knitwear factory, etc. Under these circumstances, the firm Damos has begun to withdraw its materials, while other firms have given notice of doing so, canceling contracts and removing materials, equipment, and the machinery installed in these enterprises. This will mean that work will end in these enterprises, and their employees will be left without jobs."

Alia Meets Oil Workers; Urges End to Strike

AU2205173291 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1600 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] President Ramiz Alia met a group of trade unionists from the oil industry this morning. He held a constructive talk with them in a spirit of understanding. Thanas Kocani, secretary of the Independent Federation of Oil Workers and chairman of the Strike Committee, and other representatives expressed their comrades' woes and grievances to the president. They said that the oil workers have temporarily suspended their strike out of respect for the highly important interests of the nation. We are not strike-breakers in returning to work, they said, but we consider the oil wells to be the property of the entire nation and we cannot allow them to be destroyed. However, we insist on a solution of the fair demands that we presented in our petition.

Those present at the meeting demanded that the oil workers' work and contribution should be properly appreciated on the basis of the government's most recent decision, and that wage differentials should be introduced for them in accordance with the difficulties of their working conditions. They also talked to the president about the economic difficulties of oil workers and their families in making ends meet, and advocated a lower retirement age, and a fuller and more realistic portrayal of the work and concerns of oil workers in the press, radio, and television.

They stressed that, to produce an economic program for oil, bureaucracy must be sternly combated in the ministry, the directorates, and down to the grass roots; incompetent managers, wherever they are, must be dismissed and replaced by young and able cadres and specialists.

They stated at the meeting that government representatives must come and talk frankly with them by 24 May, to determine a specific deadline for the solution of their demands in discussion with the trade unions. The oil workers' trade unions, they said, will always defend workers' interests, and will be entirely separate from political parties.

During the conversation, which involved dialogue and debate and the exchange of various views in a joint search for a way out from the disturbing situation prevailing in the country, President Ramiz Alia particularly stressed the need to view economic demands in close relation to the financial and political situation. The country's economic development, the president said, relies heavily on the oil workers. Logically, therefore, there should be no hesitation in considering and meeting your demands. We realize, however, that everything must be accomplishing by reconciling your economic demands with the state's resources. Those who have properly understood this have not put down their tools, and have not joined the strike, but are insisting on the fulfillment of those demands that they consider fair while continuing to work. This attitude should be appreciated; therefore, we are recommending that state and administrative bodies should consider your demands attentively, with the aim of meeting them as far as is possible.

The government, the president then emphasized, has made some very important decisions on increasing wages and regulating prices. These decisions are linked to the entire economic reform we are carrying out. After talking about the importance of this reform, President Ramiz Alia focused particularly on an explanation of the serious situation that has enveloped the country. It is well known, he said, that Albania is experiencing great difficulties. Under these circumstances, should we work harder to overcome them? I place my faith in the workers class and call to them and the entire people to help the government and not to make its task more difficult. As the workers have demanded, (?we are combating) bureaucracy that prevents the solution of their demands, and the government is committed to its plans and programs.

The strike is continuing in some sectors, although the government's decision satisfactorily meets workers' main requests and guarantees the swift solution of all remaining economic demands. Thus, the economy is still suffering, the workers are still suffering, and the political situation in the country continues to deteriorate. This cannot fail to distress the people. Workers in every sector must understand that the government can do nothing beyond the real possibilities that exist. Work and work alone can create conditions for our further progress.

The president went on to say that a failure to resume work seems to me to be in the interest of someone who wishes the strike to go on for reasons that are quite different from workers' economic interests. It must be clear to everybody that such aims are dangerous and

could lead to a general destabilization of the country, with incalculable consequences. Every honest Albanian, conscientious worker, and citizen of the country must dissociate himself from such aims, and not allow himself to fall prey to ambitions that do not serve either the people or Albania, especially in the current turbulent situation prevailing in our region.

Drini Mezini, minister of mining and energy resources, was also present at the meeting.

Independent Trade Unions Vow To Continue Strike

AU2205193491 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] A statement addressed to Albanian Radio and Television by Strike Commission Chairman Valer Xheka on behalf of the Central Strike Commission of the Union of Independent Albanian Trade Unions states that the strike will continue until all the demands that have been raised are met.

PPSh Central Committee Supports Wage Offer

AU2205204691 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] A statement by the Albanian Workers Party [PPSh] Central Committee points out among other things that, on the initiative of the Union of Independent Albanian Trade Unions, the trade union federations of branches and professions, and other trade union organizations, many working collectives in different parts of the country have been on strike for several days. The PPSh Central Committee considers the fair demands submitted by the trade unions to be legitimate and is convinced of the need to raise immediately the wages of workers and other working people and to improve their working conditions, transportation, housing, etc. The PPSh has from the start been in agreement with these fair demands, and has sought and insisted that the government, in cooperation with the trade union organizations, the strike committees, etc., should find the best and most suitable ways and opportunities to solve these problems.

The declaration states that the government's conclusions announced on 21 May 1991 for increasing wages and pensions and for important improvements in pricing policy represent a tangible measure appreciating and responding to these demands. The PPSh considers these conclusions reached by the government to be the most feasible solution to the economic demands submitted by the workers under the conditions of the severe economic crisis in which the country finds itself. They represent a realistic step toward improving the incomes and working conditions of workers and all other categories of working people, and point toward a realization of all other essential demands.

The PPSh Central Committee thinks that this a time for all political and social forces and organizations, including the trade unions, to appreciate the situation with all proper seriousness, all the more so because, alongside fair economic demands, slogans of a political character have been shouted at demonstrations, leading to the politicization of the work force's demands. There have even been demands for the resignation of the government that has only just won its vote of confidence in the first pluralist parliament. Such stands do not (?make it possible) for the government to work or even to begin to carry out its program. The politicization of fair economic demands will have serious social consequences, leading to a destruction of national unity. It is today more than ever necessary to understand, the declaration states, that prosperity cannot by achieved by abandoning work, and that democracy cannot be accompanied by anarchy. It is a patriotic duty for the honored workers of Albania, for cadres, specialists, trade unionists, state bodies, and political forces, to be aware of the deep crisis through which we are passing.

It is, therefore, necessary to issue an appeal to their political consciences, warning that any deterioration of the crisis is to the detriment of our families and our personal prosperity. Without work, there can be no production, no supply of the market, and no improvement of wages. It would be better to seek a joint solution with dialogue and tolerance, and to set to work to act on the measures that have been proposed. Everybody should understand more clearly than ever before that without order, enforcement of public peace, work, and production, nothing awaits us but general ruin. Without a union of forces, we darken the prospects for the democratization of social and political life and we obstruct the process of creating a modern economy and social security.

The PPSh Central Committee, the declaration concludes, trusts that the workers class and all the country's working people will judge the homeland's fundamental interests with cool heads and realism, considering realistically the possibilities for everything that is demanded, doing so above all in a spirit of patriotic and civil understanding.

Party Leaders Agree To Hold September Election

AU2205173391 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1620 GMT 22 May 91

[Aglaya Shamlieva report from the Grand National Assembly in Sofia—live]

[Text] I will read you an announcement that Ginyo Ganev, deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly, kindly handed to me just minutes ago, just after it was agreed upon.

At the initiative of the Bureau of the Grand National Assembly, today, 22 May 1991, a meeting was held of the leaderships of the political forces represented in the legislature and the legislative groups, comprising the following:

Nikolay Todorov, Ginyo Ganev, Ivan Glushkov, Nikodim Popov, Petur Dertliev, Petur Staykov, Marko Todorov, Petur Kornazhev, Vladimir Sotirov, Milan Drenchev, Aleksandur Karakachanov, Lyubomir Ivanov, Mikhail Petkov, Petur Slabakov, Georgi Avramov, Slavyan Saparev, Elenko Bozhkov, Viktor Vulkov, Elena Kircheva, Aleksandur Lilov, Andrey Lukanov, Nora Ananieva, Georgi Pirinski, Veselin Pavlov, Rumen Georgiev, Ahmed Dogan, and Yunal Lyutfiev.

The following also took part in the meeting: President of the Republic Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev; Council of Ministers Chairman Dimitur Popov; Aleksandur Tomov and Dimitur Ludzhev, deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers.

The common viewpoint was declared that the peaceful transition to democracy and the successful continuation of the economic reform are impossible without the normal, efficient functioning of the state structures.

The understanding was confirmed that the Grand National Assembly is in a position to adopt the new constitution of Bulgaria before the end of July 1991, and that accordingly elections are to be held for a new legislature in September.

As well as this, the Grand National Assembly, on the basis of energetic work by the government and the legislative forces, can also adopt other laws that are not essential for the reform.

The adoption of the constitution and the other laws and the holding of the election in accordance with the principles of legislative democracy are a necessary condition for political and social stability in the country and for the further strengthening of international trust in the Republic of Bulgaria.

A joint resolution will also be agreed upon in this connection.

Further on Party Agreement on Election

AU2205173591 Sofia BTA in English 1645 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] Sofia, May 22 (BTA)—The Bulgarian parliament should carry through the new constitution and dissolve itself by the end of June or by the beginning of July, parliamentary elections will be scheduled for September. Judging by the first statements made by the participants in the consultations between the parliamentary political forces, this is the common stand they have managed to reach. Their meeting, which lasted over three hours, was attended by President Zhelyu Zhelev and Prime Minister Dimitur Popov. Prior to the meeting President Zhelyu Zhelev had talks with each of the parliamentary factions.

Besides the new constitution, a set of important economic bills and a new elections bill will also have to be passed.

The political forces will update the agreement which they signed earlier this year and on the basis of which the present coalition cabinet was formed. The updated version will be probably drafted at the end of this week. The problem of the order in which the local and the general elections will be held is still unsettled. The Socialists insist on holding local government elections first, the opposition demands to hold parliamentary elections prior to the local ones. Well informed sources say that a compromise can be expected on this problem as well.

Zhelev Meets BZNS Legislative Factions

AU2205102491 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 21 May 91

[Text] Our reporter Lilyana Yancheva reports from our studio at the Grand National Assembly:

[Yancheva] A meeting between the legislative factions of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS] and the Nikola Petkov BZNS with President Zhelyu Zhelev ended 30 minutes ago. Mrs. Elena Kircheva, deputy chairman of the BZNS legislative faction, is with me in the studio. Mrs. Kircheva, what were the most important elements of this meeting?

[Kircheva] I can say that the meeting was constructive, and as you noticed, short. It was short because our legislative faction had a meeting this morning at 0800 together with the BZNS Permanent Board, and we came to the meeting with the president with an already formed position. I would like to immediately point out that our position coincided with his proposals—the same proposals he voiced at meetings with other legislative groups. We support the president and the government. As legislators of good will we think that all legislative issues must be resolved in a democratic and peaceful manner.

The BZNS legislative faction thinks that the Grand National Assembly can prove its good will if a decision is

adopted on dissolving itself by roll-call voting, and if this decision is related to another decision on adopting the constitution by the beginning of July at the latest. We are convinced that if maximum effort is made the new constitution and the laws that are most needed by the economic reform could be adopted by then.

We had the opportunity to voice this position many times. We think that elections could be conducted in September. Those elections must be based on the proportional representation system. This is the position of our legislative group.

The president understood our position. We think that most prudent people in the legislature see things in the same way, therefore, we shall defend this position with a sense of responsibility, feeling that we have been sent here to complete our work.

To decrease social tension we would like to appeal to the so-called "Group of 39" to return to the National Assembly. The opposition is united. It must remain united until its work related to the new laws is completed. We shall succeed in our united work inside the Assembly with maximum efforts and shall accomplish the task for which we were elected.

[Announcer] Mrs. Kircheva, I also have a question. Do you think that the president's meetings at the party level are useful for the country?

[Kircheva] Yes, I think that there is nothing better than a president who is concerned with civic peace, tranquility, and the progress of the economic reform in the country. This can only happen through good will and talks; therefore, I not only greet those meetings, but also think that this is a very beneficial initiative by the president.

[Announcer] Thank you.

Official Details Reduced Military Budget

AU2205125391 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 16 May 91 pp 1 ,3

[Interview with Colonel Orlin Marinchev, head of the Finance-Auditing Administration of the Ministry of Defense, by Lieutenant Colonel Ivan Sotirov; place and date not given: "How Much Pocket Money for Army in 1991?"—first paragraph is NARODNA ARMIYA introduction]

[Excerpts] People persistently say that the economic crisis and the significant cuts of the military budget will leave the Army without even pocket money—i.e., without even the possibility of meeting its basic needs. Is this true? Naturally, the most precise answer could come from Colonel Orlin Marinchev, head of the Finance-Auditing Administration of the Ministry of Defense, who was interviewed by Lieutenant Colonel Ivan Sotirov.

[Sotirov] Colonel, what is the military budget for the current year?

[Marinchev] The 1991 budget draft bill calls for 2,459,500,000 leva for the Ministry of Defense. This amount represents 3.6 percent of the state budget expenditures. I must say that the relative share of the military expenditures in recent years has been constantly decreasing. In 1986 they were 8.7 percent, and in 1989—6.37 percent of the budget. The reason is not only in decreasing the military expenditures, but also in the fundamental change in the structure of the state budget, which was prompted by the economic reform. The new prices and realities have been taken into account in preparing the state budget, while the military budget is still based on the old prices that existed before 1 February 1991. Therefore, the budget must be updated, and this will be done by the end of May. We propose in the updated version of the budget to increase the share of military expenditures from 3.6 to 4.5-5 percent. [passage omitted]

[Sotirov] Could we say that the planned military budget dooms the Army to a miserable existence?

[Marinchev] Undoubtedly, there will be difficulties. Each organization mentioned in the budget must make maximum savings during the economic reform. However, at whose expense will the military budget savings be? We cannot touch the so-called hard expenditures—wages, food, clothing, and hospital treatment. We should by no means reduce the military food norms, because this food provides the calories and energy needed for carrying out difficult tasks. Therefore, the Ministry of Defense calls for realizing the basic savings by cutting the expenditures for arms and military equipment and decreasing the military industry commissions.

[Sotirov] There are difficulties, but nevertheless, how will you spend the 2,459,500,000 leva that have been planned for (at least for the time being)?

[Marinchev] I can announce only a preliminary distribution of the expenditures made immediately after the adoption of the budget by the Grand National Assembly. Now this distribution is not relevant any longer, because the budget is still being updated. More than half of the amount announced—1,295,500,000 leva—is planned for maintaining the Army (wages, daily services, rear supplies, repair, and so forth); some 9.2 million leva have been set aside for scientific research and experiment-designing activity; and 1,098,000,000 leva—for arms, equipment, and property. Military construction will amount to 56.8 million leva. As you can see, the basic share of funds is designated for the current maintenance of the Army. [passage omitted]

[Sotirov] Will the Bulgarian people have a better and richer life if we do not allocate any means for defense?

[Marinchev] Naturally, if we totally eliminate the Army the means will return to the state budget; however, the 4-5 percent we allocate for military needs will not

significantly affect the social conditions of the Bulgarian citizens. It is in the economy that this matter will be solved. However, let us not forget that Bulgaria is not Belgium or Denmark. It is situated in a crucial spot and is thus forced to allocate means for maintaining a combat- able Army that can guarantee its security.

Gasoline Shortages Continue; Price Hikes Denied

AU2205081391 Sofia FAKS in Bulgarian 16 May 91 p 2

[Ognyan Kostov report: "Gasoline Is Again Evaporating"]

[Text] After 14 May when there was not a drop of gasoline left in the capital's gasoline stations, supplies resumed, albeit in a very anemic form, on 15 May.

Mr. Evgeni Popov, head of the capital's "Petroleum" Company, denied categorically rumors among drivers that gasoline prices were to be increased in the near future. He said that the paranoia created by this rumor was the reason for the queues stretching for kilometers at gasoline stations. Another reason was the repair work being carried out on the gasoline production unit at the Petro-Chemical Works, Burgas until 25 May. For the whole month 35 thousand tonnes of gasoline will be produced. Sofia is supplied with 100 tonnes a day. That quantity is equal to supplies during April, but the abolition of gasoline coupons for personal and official vehicles has evoked in people a tendency to overstock. There has also been a significant increase in use by official cars. For these reasons I cannot promise anything reassuring for May, Mr. Popov said. "Petroleum" Company does not foresee the free sale of gasoline to other gasoline stations, apart from those functioning on this principle already because of the gasoline shortage.

A well informed government source stated that the government has not discussed the freeing of prices for gasoline and power supplies recently and, in his opinion, was not likely to until at least the end of May or even June.

Interior Minister Discusses Security Service

AU2205190591 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 May 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Interior Minister Jan Langos by Nada Adamickova; place and date not given: "We Cannot Do Without Agents"- first paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Text] Among journalists it is rumored that Interior Minister Jan Langos is stingy when it comes to yielding information. Maybe this is because of his function as head of a ministerial department in which—more often than in other places—information is stamped classified or secret, or it may be due to other reasons. When we met, I did not ask him for reasons. There was no reason, since he willingly granted the interview.

[Adamickova] Within a few days, the bill on the Federal Security and Information Service [FIS] should be passed in the Federal Assembly. Will anything change by this? Indeed, the FIS has been established, and it has been working for several months.

[Langos] It will depend on what wording of the law the deputies will approve. The position of the FIS or of the interior minister is not much of an issue; however, the issue is that Czechoslovakia needs an intelligence service of a very high quality. In the very spheres defined by law —in gathering information about the activity of foreign intelligence services on the territory of our Republic, in the fight against terrorism, and in activity that precedes and follows terrorist acts. The question is how efficient the service will be, how much quality information it will really gather and process for the needs of the government in this—for Czechoslovakia—very dangerous situation. I am convinced that, in the draft wording of the law, the sphere of activity and orientation of the FIS are satisfactorily defined. It is only necessary for practical activity to resume.

[Adamickova] You told the deputies that the FIS will not be directed against individuals. Can you explain that?

[Langos] If you read the stipulation in Section 2, which directly addresses the sphere or scope of intelligence service activity, then you will see that it says—in relatively general terms, however—that such activity (terrorism, criminal acts against the security of the state, etc.—editorial note) is carried out by organizations.

The activity of an individual who resorts to a terrorist act is not as dangerous for the state as the activity of an organization that systematically prepares violent acts directed at violating the internal stability of Czechoslovakia. By the same token, the activity of a foreign state—or of its intelligence service, as the case may be—directed against our country is an extensively organized activity. That is, the priority is not to convict an individual, but to gather as much information as possible about the entire ramified activity of this or that organization. At the same time, from the nature of FIS's activity it can be inferred that information about the activity of foreigners will be gathered with the citizens' help.

[Adamickova] If I understand properly, then even the FIS will not be able to do without collaborators. Is there interest in this collaboration at all?

[Langos] So far, the FIS has no right to use citizens' help. I mean mainly help in a secret manner.

[Adamickova] Will agents be involved, in fact?

[Langos] Yes, I would not avoid this term at all. This term is used everywhere, even in democratic states, as a name for a person who helps the intelligence service in a secret manner, that is, he works for the state service.

[Adamickova] If the FIS does not recruit enough collaborators, will it be able to fulfill its mission?

[Langos] With great difficulty.

[Adamickova] What will happen then?

[Langos] First, it must recruit citizens in a nonviolent way, on a voluntary basis. In fact, a sort of patriotism by citizens is involved. In England, for example, more than 90 percent of citizens unequivocally support the activity of the intelligence service. They unequivocally understand it as an activity that protects their country. That means that a shift in the people's minds is necessary to get rid of fear and to realize that the state provides society with services and that these services protect society from foreign influences and from large-scale danger.

[Adamickova] This is not England, and after the disclosure of some former State Security collaborators, one can understand that people are afraid to offer help. Moreover, they apparently have no guarantee that cooperation cannot be used against them later on. Will FIS agents be registered or not?

[Langos] The registration of State Security agents caused alarm; however, State Security recruited citizens by gathering compromising materials about them, and on that basis it forced them to cooperate. Before someone was recruited, State Security had a very thick file of information on him. This manner of recruiting FIS collaborators will be explicitly forbidden. The FIS will not be allowed to gather detailed information—that could be used against them later on—about collaborators who voluntarily offer their help. Only a record that the citizen offered his services since he has access to information that is needed for a specific task will be on file. For example, that he has information available about an organization suspected of anti-Czechoslovak activity.

[Adamickova] In the Federal Assembly Defense and Security Committees it has been claimed, among other things, that there are several intelligence services active on CSFR territory. What you have to say about that?

[Langos] They are foreign nationals who have permission to stay in our country, and therefore they have to respect Czechoslovak law. As soon as they violate the law, they can be expelled or taken to court. Some of them are gathering information for their governments; however, it depends on what kind of information is gathered and in what manner it is gathered. If they gather information from open or half-open sources while under diplomatic immunity, their activity is unwelcome but not illegal. It is good to monitor it and to make sure they do not collect information that is a state secret, for instance. In such a case violation of the law would be involved. This is a far more subtle problem than it appears at first.

[Adamickova] When the present version of the FIS bill began to be debated in legislative committees, one could hear criticism directed against you, arguing that such an important law should have been drafted by the government and not by a group of deputies. Do you agree with this?

[Langos] The concept of the law, in fact, originated in the government, it was presented to it for consideration, and it went through the entire legislative process. The deputies' initiative makes, in fact, only small changes. It can be said that deputies have adopted the law as their own.

[Adamickova] Deputy Sacher's interpellation in the Assembly caused excitement. A commission was established that is still dealing with it. The latest results show that Sacher's interpellation—as far as your deputy ministers are concerned in particular—has quite a sound core. Do you still insist that it was a personal offense against you?

[Langos] I spoke about this in the Federal Assembly Immunity Committee. I do not consider Mr. Sacher's interpellation a personal offense against myself. I know my opinions and my actions, and I cannot feel offended when someone says something against me personally. I rather feel offended in the classical sense of the word. I consider the fact that Deputy Sacher hurt my closest colleagues an offense.

[Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 15 May on page 2 carries a 100-word "JU" signed article entitled "An Interview That Did Not Take Place" in which CSFR Interior Minister Jan Langos is quoted as saying on the subject of the RUDE PRAVO interview: "During a break in the debate of the Federal Assembly Defense and Security Committees, I answered questions from a group of anonymous reporters. I have never granted an interview to RUDE PRAVO; last fall I even refused to grant them an interview. The text itself is not distorted; yet, if I granted an interview to some paper, I would insist on its authorization. I consider this course of action unacceptable."]

Carnogursky Promises Tolerant Government

AU2305095391 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 15 May 91 p 3

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky by Zuzana Alnerova, Jan Blazej and Julius Gembicky in Bratislava on 13 May: "Success of a Tolerant Attitude; the Third Post-November Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic at a Discussion in Our Editorial Office"—first two paragraphs are NARODNA OBRODA introduction]

[Text] "When I occasionally compare what is currently happening, not only in Slovakia but in all of Eastern Europe, with revolutions in the past, the dramatic parallel appears in the actual turning point with which the great revolutions of the past came approximately two to three years after the revolution itself. It was then that all the controversies were settled and a dramatic change ensued. I do not know whether we are approaching such a turning point. The specificity of the past Slovak analogies is contained in their moderation, willingness to compromise, and a lesser degree of differentiation, when compared with similar situations in other countries. I consider it an advantage for Slovakia rather than the opposite," said Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky, LL.D., at a meeting with NARODNA OBRODA journalists on Monday evening [13 May]. Such discussions with Slovak supreme representatives have become a tradition in our editorial office. Mr. Carnogursky is the third post-November Slovak prime minister to have visited us.

The dramatic turn in a historical situation demonstrates itself in human destinies, according to him, as an unyielding rush of work. He gave the example of Robespierre. As the Jacobin dictatorship approached its end, criticism of him mounted. A day or two before his execution, he was called to the National Convention to defend himself. If he had had time for preparation, he might have saved himself; however, he did not have the time, underestimated the importance of his defense, and that was his downfall. The Convention sentenced him and he was executed. The prime minister pointed out that we should delegate our duties so as not to fall under the daily avalanche of work, the reason being that if one loses control, one ends up being sentenced by a Convention.

[NARODNA OBRODA] In his inaugural speech, the newly appointed prime minister mentioned the stigma of intolerance, of discord in the Slovak nation. This is an open wound, particularly after the recent political tempests. What does he consider a consolidating element of domestic policy, and in what direction would he lead the government in the sense of absolute goals?

[Carnogursky] In response to the question from the assembled staff, the head of the government cabinet emphasized that he is endeavoring to work his way toward a basic proportionality in economic parameters, the political system, culture, journalism, and human relations. We will achieve proportionality in the economy by tackling some fundamental problems—Ziar nad Hronom, [town that has ineffective aluminum production plant], for instance. Similarly, we will have to decide on Gabcikovo [water-dam project], or at least prepare the documentation. The entire issue of energy in Slovakia will have to be clarified and specified, at least in an outline. A balance must be found in the finances and the political aspirations of Slovakia. We cannot pretend that we can grow to the skies, make demands, or—let us take it to the limit—proclaim an independent state tomorrow. We must clarify for ourselves

the basic parameters of our position, accept them, take them as the point of departure, and realize that at best we can improve them gradually.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Today, we can hardly imagine that Slovakia would be spared by the demon of vetting. How can scandalizing and blackmail be prevented, and is there a decent way to cleanse society of State Security agents?

[Carnogursky] The Slovak National Council is in the process of preparing a decision, resolution, or perhaps even a law on vetting. The government does not intend to do anything in this regard before the Slovak National Council makes a decision on vetting. The government will follow this decision. After all, not only the government, but the entire public learned a lesson from what took place in the Federal Assembly. When Dr. Carnogursky served as a deputy prime minister in the Federal Government and had his say at the Ministry of the Interior, as well as during his term as first deputy prime minister of the Slovak Government, he was repeatedly visited by former State Security agents, even by those whom he previously met "officially." One of them told him once that if the registers ever left Slovakia, it would split the republic. He [Carnogursky] refused to believe that it could have such an effect. The government does not want to initiate anything in this respect in the near future. It awaits the decision by the Slovak National Council. The prime minister is aware of the fact that once the vetting begins, the avalanche cannot be stopped until it hits the bottom, i.e. the districts and enterprises.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Recently, he was rather tolerant in his statement about able people who were active in the former regime. Is this attitude typical for the entire government? Will the government headed by a Christian Democrat be open to other ideological and philosophical currents?

[Carnogursky] An individual approach to people would be ideal. We condemn the principle of collective guilt in other contexts, and the same condemnation of the principle of collective guilt applies to the assessment of former Communist Party members.... The government endeavors to approach the problem in this manner, and it has worked so far. The lesson taught by revolutions of the past indicates—as I said earlier—that the dramatic change occurs only two to three years later, and the condemnation is rather indiscriminate then. In West Germany, after the de-Nazification wave in the years 1949 to 1950, another wave came around 1960. However, it was not initiated by the government, but by the public. A new generation of qualified people who needed to take over positions of responsibility had matured. Such waves of change could come, but they will not be initiated by the government.

The Christian Democratic Movement has never demonstrated an interest in taking over the government. After all, it is a coalition government, and so far the agreement on division of posts and seats has been honored. At least in two cases, the Christian Democratic Movement gave up posts which, according to the agreement, belonged to it simply because the Public Against Violence movement presented a candidate who was good and who was qualified. The Public Against Violence movement repayed the Christian Democratic Movement in the case of Interior Minister Pittner. Last year, when the government was composed, the Christian Democratic Movement asked that the prime minister and the interior minister not be from the same movement, although no written agreement to this effect exists. The Public Against Violence movement then agreed that Mr. Pittner would continue, as he is objective in the overall performance of his duties. Moreover, it would have been rather hazardous to make changes in the post of interior minister at that particular time. The positions of ministers of agriculture and of construction were filled in a similar way, and this approach should not change in the future either.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Responding to the concern of a part of the journalistic community regarding the fate of the independent press, and the possibilities of politically motivated changes in periodicals and the media, the new prime minister said....

[Carnogursky] I do not want to make any changes in the media. True, the journalistic approach to the assessment of social phenomena and events is somewhat superficial in substance when compared with that of historians, political scientists, and sociologists. In this respect, I do not see any gross mistakes by the press in the past. I am somewhat concerned, not about the political orientation of the newspapers, but about baseless accusations, the publication of erroneous information. This will have to be dealt with for the time being by legal complaints based on the protection of personal rights, etc. Should there be too many cases, legal amendments could specify harsher measures.

[NARODNA OBRODA] How does the prime minister feel about a proclamation of sovereignty and the future of Slovakia?

[Carnogursky] I am optimistic about the realization of the national idea, and I believe that I have already expressed it publicly. I am convinced that the trend in Slovakia really is toward the increased value of the state-legal status of Slovakia. Precisely because the trend is in that direction, I do not consider it my task to accelerate this trend, rather the opposite. An acceleration might turn into a free fall. I am very concerned that we do not get into a situation comparable to the one Slovakia was in, for example, in April and May 1945, a situation of political and strategic defeat and isolation. My major objection to former Prime Minister Meciar is precisely that, in my opinion, he led Slovakia into such a situation. We would make enemies out of all the surrounding nations, including the Czechs, external pressure would develop, and we would collapse economically. There would be internal pressures as well. If Slovakia wants to realize its chance, it must progress systematically, step by step, so as not to, if possible, make enemies of everyone, because otherwise it cannot reach its goals. Hence, the only way is the constitutional one. A declaration of sovereignty by Slovakia would be a

violation of the Constitution. This draft declaration states that Slovakia is a sovereign state; however, Slovakia does not become sovereign by the Slovak National Council's adoption of such a declaration. The draft declaration speaks of its own army, yet the draftees will continue to be sent to Bohemia. If we wanted to change this, an armed struggle would take place. As agreed, taxes will continue to flow to the Federal treasury. So, what sovereignty are we talking about? Such endeavors would only put us into isolation. After all, how is Slovakia written about in the world already? And should we take this step, we would set off on a road taken by the Baltic republics or Yugoslavia, where there are causalities. I do not believe that there is any man who could guarantee that if we took this road, we would be able to stop. The path taken by the government and the Christian Democratic Movement seems more feasible. That was the reason behind the decision for a state treaty. It would correspond to the present reality. The Czech representation had to accept it. That was the greatest progress. Actually, the entire Slovak delegation in Lany was united. Federal Prime Minister Calfa supported the state treaty very passionately, and Dr. Secansky (HZDS) [Movement for Democratic Slovakia] was on his side. Only the Slovak National Party opposes the state treaty, and favors an independent Slovakia. Ever since 1918, there have been people in the Slovak representation (e.g. Srobar, Hodza) who advocated the position favoring Prague. Now, Slovakia is united; despite our slow progress, the force and direction of our progress are set, and soon we will be able to achieve our goal. Let me point out that a swift adoption of the Slovak republic constitution would make negotiation with the Czech side much more difficult, because in Bohemia the people would understand it as presenting them with finalized acts and putting them against the wall; the Slovak National Council should not rush the adoption of the constitution. The constitution is safe, and should the political negotiations with the Czech republic fail, we can say that we have done everything we could, and that nothing is left but to adopt the constitution.

[NARODNA OBRODA] What is the point of such a treaty? After all, the constitution will expound on all basic issues regarding relations between the Czech republic and the Slovak republic.

[Carnogursky] The constitution can include only what is authorized by the treaty. The basis for the state legal arrangement will be the treaty. The treaty will precede the adoption of the Federal constitution. It will be entered into by a Slovak National Council constitutional law. A consensus has been reached in Lany that the treaty will exist. The controversy is over its name rather than over its content. While the Slovak representation uses the term "state treaty," the Czechs speak of an "agreement." It will be a treaty between the Slovak republic and the Czech republic represented by the Slovak National Council and the Czech National Council, respectively, and that is something the Slovak representation would not give up. The Slovak representation moved that a constitutional law be issued on the preparation of the Federal constitution that would introduce the treaty into our legislation as a form of law. This would comply with Czech objections that the Federal Assembly would be totally excluded from the process. That would not be so, for the Federal Assembly would regulate the process of the adoption of the future constitution. One of the major objections was the violation of the continuity of the republic, something the Slovak side does not want either, but this constitutional law could stipulate that the legal continuity would not be affected by the signing of the treaty. If the treaty contained only principles of state legal arrangement and division of powers, and if a constitution existed that was adopted by the Federal Assembly, it would have to be ratified by the national councils. This agreement was not attained.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Do you advocate restraining economic reform in Slovakia?

[Carnogursky] If some concepts become slogans in the media, they lose their original content and meaning. This might be the reason for the claim that Slovakia wants to restrain the economic reform. There is no other way for Slovakia but to continue with the economic reform as adopted in the Federal Assembly; only some particular cases—Martin, Orava, Kysuce—must be dealt with by the government flexibly, by adopting some specific measures that would not have a general effect. Slovakia is too small to implement economic policies different from those of the Federation and of the surrounding states. So far, Slovakia has neither left the reform stream, nor stayed behind. For the first quarter of 1991, privatization is on the same level as the Czech republic, the difference is only in the structure—in Slovakia most of the small enterprises are privatized shops. With respect to financial volume, we are in the same position as the Czechs, the budget surplus is higher than in the Czech republic. In other words, Slovakia follows this path because it cannot afford to go any other way.

Meciar's cabinet did not deviate from this line because no Slovak cabinet can. Let us consider price liberalization. Let us say that we would keep prices at a constant level. The problem of foreigners buying up goods then crops up. Now, almost the opposite is true. The difference in method of the two cabinets is in economic policies, while until now the statements were not backed by deeds.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Originally, an unemployment level of 300,000 was expected. According to the opposition economists, as well as according to some government officials, it might reach 1 million. What kind of cards would the government play, should the social safety net tear?

[Carnogursky] One possibility is that the government would collapse. The style employed by my predecessor did not lead toward a solution, but would instead augment the existing problems. A chance to lessen this economic impact lies in a moderate compromising policy that would not upset our neighbors, and we want

to get whatever we can. The living standard will be leveled. The Federal Government assigned 2 billion [currency not specified] for dealing with the problems of conversion in Slovakia. Some said it was a reward for recalling Meciar. Whatever the reason, there are 2 billion here. It did not concern the person. I am often reproached for hesitancy, softness, and lack of insistence. There are more examples that show that if a majority believes an alternate route is better, one should let them take it; I do not have to be at the head. Then again, quite often situations have arisen in which much was saved because one retreated and prepared conditions to allow this.

[NARODNA OBRODA] While comparing moderation and radicalism, the Slovak prime minister asked who of the radical politicians—post-November 1989 personalities—lasted. Following the parliamentary elections, some were concerned about a growth of popularity of the Slovak National Party. This party, however, did not succeed in the local elections.

[Carnogursky] It is ostentatious to speak radically, directly, and harshly. Whoever acts that way must sooner or later bump into something, and because Slovakia is the smallest and weakest in the region, he will most probably smash his head. I am convinced that a softer method is more successful—we are succeeding in practically everything.

NARODNA OBRODA is a year old today. Slovakia is too small to support several serious newspapers, and your paper is good. The government is interested in the continuation of its publication. We want the informational daily of Slovak citizens to survive despite the competition of the "gutter" press and the difficult market conditions. I have my fingers crossed for you!

Czech Government Discusses Ecological Issues

AU2305084791 Prague CESKE A MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 16 May 91 p 2

["(BAU, VAF)" signed report: "The Government on North Bohemia"]

[Text] Prague—At its session yesterday, the Czech government discussed a proposal to implement a set of measures on improving the environment in North Bohemia. In the very near future an important role in this regard could be played by utilizing the experiences of North Rhine-Westphalia where, approximately 10 years ago, problems similar to the ones we now face in North Bohemia were successfully resolved.

The proposal to implement a set of measures on improving the environment in North Bohemia contains a provision on the ecological limits affecting the North Bohemian mining district as a result of new mining and energy activity. Czech Environment Minister Ivan Dejmal gave details on the proposal following yesterday's approval of this document by the Czech government.

In this connection, the government set the Czech Environment Ministry the task of preparing a draft law on establishing an organization to ecologically supervise mining activity; this organization will be authorized to categorically define the limits in the North Bohemia region. The government also decided to make a sum of 140 million korunas [kcs] available to cover a stabilizing allowance for the geographically expanded North Bohemia mining region. This involves sums for the Decin, Louny, and Litomerice Districts. These resources should be made available as soon as possible, that is, probably in June or July of this year.

Among other things, the Czech Government also discussed a report on unemployment development. It was stated that approximately 68,000 people are currently collecting unemployment support in the Czech republic and that kcs260 million in benefits have been paid since the beginning of the year. In this connection, Labor and Social Affairs Minister Milan Horalek gave an assurance that more than kcs4 million have been earmarked from the republic's budget for unemployment benefits, and there is no danger that people who lose their jobs will be left completely without resources.

The government also discussed a report on searching for, evaluating, and destroying polychlorinated biphenyls in agriculture in the Czech republic. As Agriculture Minister B. Kubat said, it is necessary to resolve the whole problem in two stages. First and foremost, it is necessary to eliminate polychlorinated biphenyls from the food chain. This is going well, since all butter from afflicted breeds is being stored while the animals themselves are being destroyed and processed into organic fertilizers.

Pithart Interviewed on Pink Tank Affair

LD2105230591 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 21 May 91

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart by unidentified reporter; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, much has been said about the Smichov tank affair. I do not really want to ask any more about it, but to be on the safe side, I will ask your opinion on the matter.

[Pithart] I am glad that you are not asking me about it. Although much has been said, I would like to add something: I would like to draw attention to one of our ill-fated political [words indistinct]. Instead of working like politicians, we toss a coin and we build monuments and memorials. After a while, instead of working like politicians, we destroy the monuments with much gusto.

After 1918 [former President] Masaryk came up with a positive political program and asked the nation to [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, allow me to object. The majority of us do not want our city squares and village greens to be decorated with statues of Stalin, Gottwald, or the People's Militiaman.

[Pithart] You are quite right. I am not against that. I am only pointing to the discrepancy of certain interests. The interest in an outward gesture is, it seems, mostly an interest in internal transformations. In the long term this is understandable, because painting one tank is less laborious. As for the tank itself, I will say this much: It is an ambiguous symbol—certainly more ambiguous than, for example, a statue of Stalin or the People's Militiaman. The fact that, following this act, the enemies of reform in the USSR started complaining, and that this aggravates the situation of the democratic forces is not at all in our interest.

What I found most striking is the misunderstanding of the deputy's role even by other deputies. A deputy is, after all, a member of the legislature, and parliament is the representative of the highest legislative power. A deputy has no business to protest, let alone publicly. He should state in parliament what he considers is incorrect, and not in the street. Imagine, for example, a minister walking in the streets, heading a parade of his deputies, honorary bosses, and other officials protesting the disorders in his own department. That would be preposterous, would it not? Even worse is the deputy who consciously infringes on the norms of the law and challenges it.

It is quite posible that the situation will arise when political persons will be marked, above all, according to whether or not they were for pink or against it—that is political differentiation according to quite inappropriate criteria in my view.

The entire affair shows how much childishness there is in our political life. That is dangerous in view of the problems that we have today and which are yet to emerge.

[Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, I confess I agree with you, but only partially. I do not consider the action of the deputies to be a puerile act. That would certainly deserve condemnation. I think that the act demonstrated more than resistance against the tank as a monument or against one of the debatable paragraphs on disturbances. The 30 Federal Assembly deputies who painted the tank and the 50 Czech National Council deputies who, even before that, endorsed the act of student Cerny—that is more than a political act.

[Pithart] Certainly, and it would be good if the true political motives could be talked about both by those who endorse them and those who openly criticize them. I would [word indistinct] after all, the action of student Cerny and the act of the deputies. As for his action, I think that maximum lenience is appropriate and Civic Movement will exert or is exerting all activity. But as to the motives of those who painted the tank [words indistinct].

[Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, speaking about the problems that you mentioned in connection with the tank, I would like to ask the following: During the last briefing of Civic Movement, whose deputy chairman you are, it was said that Civic Movement will not approach the question of future arrangement of the state with excessive adaptability. Could you expand on this idea?

[Pithart] That is a very careful way of putting it. [Words indistinct] It means, in other words, yes to the federation, but not at all costs. You see, this topic is seen by a large part of the Czech public, as well as a large part of the Slovak public, as a pillory and thus poses prestigious arguments. [words indistinct] There must exist a level upon which one can think about the matter only rationally, not emotionally.

There are certain rational reasons for the existence of a common federation. The prime reason is that both national communities can benefit from it, in economic, social, foreign political, and other terms. Yes, there are also rational reasons against the existence of a common federation. However, their (?rationality) is different from the first point. If there is no effective will to live jointly in a common federation on both sides, if, for example, there is resistance on one side to this coexistence, then commonsense must tell us that no reason exists for a common federation. The point is that I doubt that a federation which would be regarded by one side as a necessary evil could successfully function. The authority of federal bodies would keep encountering difficulties in this part of the federation. We might also encounter a different approach to economic issues, in particular to state budgets, in either part of the federation. This would mean that we would have differing economies and as a result also differing states. If we allow anything like this to happen then this will be the exaggerated adaptability you have asked about.

As for the Civic Movement, whose deputy chairman I am, as you noted, it does not welcome the possible division of the federation. But it would not welcome an illusory federation either. Should one side insist on conditions which, in fact, correspond to a confederation, then in this case it would only be honest to come out with the truth and speak openly about a confederation. This would, in turn, mean two currencies, two issuing banks—in short, two economies. Although this kind of decision has not been made, we should be ready for it. A few hours ago the plenum of the Czech National Council called on the Czech government to submit a report on its preparedness for this variant in the next few days. We immediately started work on this report. We have sufficient materials to be able to compile as soon as possible such a report which will convince all deputies that (?we shall not), indeed, let ourselves be intimidated.

[Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, thank you for the interview.

Antall Returns From France, Views Danube Affair

LD2205221791 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 22 May 91

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by Miklos Martin-Kovacs at Budapest airport on Antall's return from France on 22 May—recorded]

[Text] [Kovacs] While you were away, we learned from press reports that the new Slovak head of government intends to address what amounts to virtually an ultimatum to the Hungarian Government. They wish to build the Gabcikovo power station water works, if necessary, alone, which means they would be diverting the Danube. Hearing this report afresh, what are your comments?

[Antall] I must begin by saying that, before the Hungarian Government makes any final statement in this regard, we must know exactly the position taken by [Slovak] Prime Minister Carnogursky, whom I have known for a long time, and we must know the internal political situation in Czechoslovakia, as well. Taking the diversion of the Danube alone, since the peace treaty of Trianon states that the border between Hungarian and Czechoslovakia is the middle of the main stream of the Danube, the diversion of the navigable Danube would be the most serious violation of international law. This would simply mean border violation.

Party Officials on Suspension of Six-Party Talks

LD2205113791 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0500 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] [Announcer] The six-party talks already have already been suspended. From yesterday's papers it has become known that according to the preliminary understanding, the agreement would have to be signed by the party chairmen. On Monday the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] delegation presented another proposal, which the opposition could not accept. Jozsef Horvath outlines the MDF's stand, and then you will hear Matyas Eoersi, SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats], about the same thing. The recordings were made by Zsuzsa Vajda.

[Begin recording] [Horvath] We think that it is unfortunate if the person embodying a head of state position signs something at a six-party consultation, because we think that would unequivocally mean the involvement of the government in the six-party talks.

[Vajda] Nevertheless, it was said by the MDF on Thursday that the chairmen will sign.

[Horvath] On Thursday the representative of the MDF who was present said: I can accept that this agreement should be signed by the party chairmen in their capacity of party chairmen. The party presidium, on learning this, thought that nothing justifies our departing from the original standpoint. That is why we would like to return to the original standpoint. That is precisely why the discussions were suspended, because the other parties have said that for them this is a guarantee issue, and we have promised that within three days we will send our written reply as to whether we insist on our original standpoint. I would be very surprised if the parties ascribed such significance to this. The substantive talks, those that produce results, will appear at the political level. We propose that at the political-level discussions too the person entrusted by the MDF Presidium to lead the talks also be the one who exercises the right to sign.

[Vajda] Why does it pose a problem if it is not signed by the party chairmen?

[Eoersi] For the SZDSZ it is an issue of key importance how the eventual agreements can be enforced. It has to be seen clearly that power in Hungary is in the hands of the government not the hands of the parties. The parties must, therefore, obtain a guarantee that if an agreement comes into existence, the government will implement it. If this is not the case, then the parties will merely talk and (?bandy words) about the country's destiny, but it will not have any kind of result. Now, we would have liked the government to make a statement—even before the talks if possible—to the effect that it will implement the final result of the six-party agreements; however, the standpoints on this were very far apart. If the party chairmen sign the agreement, that would provide a certain guarantee for us. If the MDF withdraws this as well, then what that means for us is, or at least it indicates, that the MDF does not really want to conclude agreements that would be binding on the government. In that case why should we hold discussions? [end recording]

MDF on Interruption of Six-Party Talks

LD2205092291 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 21 May 91

[Text] The MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] Presidium considers that the MDF delegation participating in the six-party talks of experts has made a statement contrary to the party's earlier stance, in which they agreed that subsequent agreements would be signed by the party chairmen. The body [not further identified] stressed in its communique that they had sent their stance to the other five legislative parties at the beginning of the month. According to this, the leader of the appointed negotiating delegation has a right to sign the agreement after being given authorization from his party's leadership. According to the MDF leadership, all that happened yesterday was that the statement of the delegation was synchronized with the body's stance published earlier. At the same time, the MDF Presidium expressed its concern that the events might jeopardize the further process of the talks. As it is known, because of these events the six-party talks of experts were interrupted yesterday.

Solidarity Chairman Urges Government To Negotiate

LD2205194791 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1900 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] Solidarity Chairman Marian Krzaklewski said that today's protest action by union members has demonstrated their determination. Working people, he added, will be encumbered with the enormous costs of the reform, and their effort is being wasted. Referring to remarks by Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki that the government is holding an umbrella over Solidarity, Marian Krzaklewski proposed that the umbrella be put aside and the hand which is holding it be extended to negotiations on proposals to remove the mistakes.

Warsaw Garbage Collectors End Seven-Day Strike

LD2205100191 Warsaw PAP in English 0816 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 22—Warsaw garbage collectors resumed their work this morning after a seven-day long strike.

Their representatives said they have decided to suspend the strike for three months.

Meanwhile, Warsaw bus and tram drivers demanding pay increases went into the second day of strike today.

Government Discusses Economic Policy Adjustments

AU2305095191 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 May 91 pp 1,2

[D. Walewska, M. Szyszllo report: "Adjustments to Economic Policy"]

[Text] The Council of Ministers meeting began at eight o'clock in the evening, that is, two hours later than planned. The first part, which lasted over three hours, was held behind closed doors. All that was known was that the government was discussing the program for restructuring the economy—a total of nine documents were submitted. It shortly transpired, however, that the most important single issue under discussion was the decision to devalue the zloty.

Shortly before midnight, during a break in the meeting, Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz and National Bank President Grzegorz Wojtowicz spoke to journalists.

The deputy prime minister described the most important topics discussed at the meeting:

—First, the transformation of state enterprises into state treasury companies as quickly as possible. It is planned that between 400 and 600 enterprises will undergo a rapid transformation to give them a modern organizational structure. The package of measures also includes proposals to accelerate privatization through the liquidation procedure;

—Second, stepping up efforts to open up new markets. This applies to the EEC and the Soviet Union;

—Third, the introduction of a more efficient system of public finance, which the government had already discussed previously. It is a question of adjusting public finance to suit the circumstances that have arisen as a result of negative external developments and the difficulties, which were greater than anticipated, that enterprises are experiencing in adapting. L. Balcerowicz said that the government is determined not to let the budget deficit get out of control;

—Fourth, on the macroeconomic level, the emphasis is still on continuing with basic principles, but this does not mean that we are ignorant of the changes that are taking place;

Exchange rate movements outside our country are one of these changes. On Thursday [17 May] the government concluded that in the future it will no longer be possible to peg the value of the zloty to a single currency, but that it will have to be tied to a basket of currencies—it is a matter of adopting a solution that will neutralize the effects of fluctuations in the value of Western currencies.

—Asked whether the higher exchange rate for convertible currencies will increase inflation, Leszek Balcerowicz replied that "the increase will be minimal";

—All the documents that were submitted at the Council of Ministers meeting will be passed on to the Sejm Chancellery today [17 May] and will be the subject of a Sejm debate scheduled for 23 through 25 May.

Council of Ministers 21 May Meeting Reported

LD2205092591 Warsaw PAP in English 2148 GMT 21 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 21—At the conclusion of its Tuesday meeting, the Council of Ministers studied a report on strikes staged by Warsaw's municipal transport and the municipal cleaning enterprise. The government is concerned about the developments but it cannot interfere in the process of negotiations as local bodies are proper to conduct them. But the plight is the reason for which the government deems it necessary to accelerate work on a bill on communal enterprise to submit it to Parliament in two weeks.

Earlier, the Cabinet adopted a draft law increasing tasks and powers of bodies of a rural community and amending some tasks and powers of bodies of the government administration.

The Council of Ministers adopted several draft laws stemming from plans concerning restructuring, creating conditions for economic growth and improving public finances, agreed by the government last week.

A government-proposed amendment to the law on state enterprise serves to improve and accelerate the processes of privatizing small and medium-size enterprises. The amendment standardizes and simplifies procedures of liquidation and strengthens the role that a founding body should play in the processes leading to privatization.

It is estimated that owing to the improved procedures, the swift sale will cover at least 100 enterprises this year with the total of 800 enterprises being expected to embark upon the road of privatization in 1991.

The meeting also reviewed three draft laws that, in tune with a programme for improving public finances adopted last week, are on the one hand to improve the collection of dues owed to the state and on the other to limit budgetary expenditures.

Next, the Council of Ministers supplemented the earlier prepared draft amending the customs law with proposals specifying the principles of anti-dumping protection.

The Cabinet approved the terms of an agreement with the World Bank on a loan for privatization purposes. The credit is to amount to 280 million U.S. dollars and would be used primarily to finance technical assistance in the process of privatization (advisers, training and equipment).

The Council of Ministers offered guarantees to the European Investment Bank for its credit given to the Polish Post, Telegraph and Telephone Enterprise to finance the the first stage of expanding Polish telecommunications.

Kaczynski Walks Out of Defense Meeting

AU2305085791 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 May 91 p 2

["Z.L." signed report: "The Belweder and the Army"]

[Excerpt] Lech Kaczynski, minister of state for national security matters in the President's Chancellery, and the representatives of the Belweder who were accompanying him walked out of the 15 May meeting of the government Commission for the Reform of the Organization of National Defense. Kaczynski decided it was pointless for him to attend the meeting, because, in his opinion, there was no constructive reaction to proposals to strengthen the positions of the president and the National Security Council in the defense sphere. The minister of state stressed that "the president's aim is to make his office one that would give him significant powers on key issues."

According to the Belweder concept, future legislation—the agreements being worked out by the interdepartmental commission are to lay the groundwork for it—will not only provide the president with powers enabling him to, for example, appoint the commander in chief of the Armed Forces in time of war, but will also allow the president, acting on his own, to decide to use the army for purposes other than the defense of the country. According to the president's plans, the National Security Council is to be more than an advisory and review body and is to become a constitutional body, and the only "appropriate" one with regard to defense matters. It is foreseen that the institution will possess extensive powers to issue binding decisions regarding the whole state security sphere and to monitor and exercise supervision over it. [passage omitted]

Skubiszewski Meets Greek Foreign Minister

LD2305025391 Warsaw PAP in English 1531 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] Warsaw, May 22—Greece supports Poland's aspirations to full EC membership, Greek Foreign Minister Andonios Samaras told newsmen today at the start of his two-day official visit to Warsaw. Samaras's is the first official visit after a several-year pause in contacts between the two countries. But during the talks in the Polish Foreign Ministry today the relations between Poland and Greece were described as good and the two countries' policies were found convergent in many points. Samaras had face-to-face talks with his Polish counterpart Krzysztof Skubiszewski today. The two discussed international relations and European and regional cooperation and security. They also exchanged opinions on minorities, an issue which is of special interest to the Polish side, as Minister Skubiszewski put it. We also talked about Cyprus, Skubiszewski told newsmen and added that in the Polish opinion Cyprus should be a united state. Polish-Greek economic cooperation and development of joint ventures were discussed during plenary talks of the two delegations. In Minister Skubiszewski's view this cooperation is promising because Poland is a big market with a relatively cheap but skilled workforce. The Greek side decided to abolish diplomatic visas for Poles. Talks will be continued on abolishing other kinds of visas in future.

Reportage on President's Visit to Israel

WA0522120691

For reportage on the visit by President Lech Walesa to Israel, see the Israel section of the 21 May Near East & South Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Nastase on Relations With USSR, Moldova

AU2205104391 Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 17 May 91 p 8

[Interview with Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase by Frank Herold in Bucharest; date not given: "Theory of the Two Romanias"]

[Text] [Herold] The Warsaw Pact is dead and Eastern Europe is radically changed. Where do you see Romania's place in Europe today and in the future?

[Nastase] The present situation is paradoxical: While the institutional mechanisms of Western Europe are constantly further developing, the multilateral instruments in Central and Eastern Europe are disappearing. It has often been said that neither NATO nor the Western European Union want to extend their areas. Accordingly, in the transition period there will be a vacuum in Eastern Europe until a general European security structure is established. Regarding Romanian foreign policy, we are currently negotiating bilateral treaties both with our neighboring countries and Western Europe. We developed the idea to create a Central and Eastern European union as a multilateral framework. This is to be a consultative forum where the Soviet Union, the United States, and Western European representatives would have the status of observers.

[Herold] That is to say, you also do not press for NATO membership?

[Nastase] It takes two to tango. NATO's point of view is very clear. We should not create problems for ourselves that cannot be solved.

[Herold] This suggests disappointment....

[Nastase] We have to see European policies very pragmatically.

[Herold] Romania is the first country of the former East bloc to conclude a treaty with the Soviet Union. How does it differ from former ones?

[Nastase] The USSR has comparable treaties with France, Italy, Germany, and Turkey. For us this was, above all, an opportunity to get out of the mutual assistance pact of 1970. The new agreement guarantees equal rights to the two partners, it opens up new fields of economic cooperation and permits the tackling of delicate questions. Among other things, direct relations with individual Soviet republics, including Moldova, which, of course, interests us in particular, are made possible.

[Herold] Recently a high-ranking Moldovan politician, who reported on his republic's efforts to unite with Romania, was in Bucharest. What is your attitude toward this?

[Nastase] There are about 5 million people in the Republic of Moldova. I am convinced that each of them has an opinion on the future of the republic. An important signal is last June's decision on sovereignty of the legislature of the Republic of Moldova. I was able to conclude from talks with Moldovan politicians that this republic is making efforts to maintain its cultural identity and, at the same time, to achieve its independence in the long term—for example, according to the model of the Baltic countries. Many Moldovan politicians told us that the concrete changes that have taken place since 1940 cannot be ignored. They are of the opinion that they do not constitute a territory that they can demand back from the Romanian Government. They see their country as a Romanian state that maintains its own sovereignty. In other words, we are in the situation that two Romanian states exist. I believe that this situation can be understood in Germany. All opportunities are open in the future.

[Herold] Including unification?

[Nastase] History will answer this question. If it does not take long, this will be positive, because those who know Bessarabia's history know how this country was torn out of the Romanian land.

[Herold] Do you not believe that this position may put a strain on relations with Moscow?

[Nastase] In my view, Moscow has recognized the sovereignty of Moldova. We have to proceed on the assumption that the further development of the Republic of Moldova is closely connected with the general development in the Soviet Union.

[Herold] There were recently some conflicts with the neighboring country Hungary over the position of the Hungarian minority in Romania. What are your current relations like?

[Nastase] Regarding the national minority, we do not have a conflict with Hungary. The problem of minorities must be solved with the help of generally accepted standards at a European level. We are of the opinion that minority rights belong to the realm of human rights and not the political sphere. At any rate, this problem must not be regarded as a field of bilateral relations.

[Herold] Thus, you consider it neither possible nor necessary to settle the differences of opinion with Hungary at a bilateral level?

[Nastase] I do not understand what problems are supposed to exist. As part of the entire democratization process in Romania, we guaranteed the minorities a framework for the protection of their rights. As many as 42 members of Parliament belong to the Hungarian minority, there are Hungarian schools, theaters, and several newspapers and magazines. Thus, we adhere to all internationally common standards in this field. What should we discuss at a bilateral level? I think that the CSCE framework is very good. One always has to bear in mind, however, that there may be problems if a society that lived under a dictator for decades is democratized. There cannot be two different speeds of democratization, one for the majority and one for the minorities.

[Herold] In the trade sector, the United States granted the Most Favored Nation status to the Ceausescu regime, while it denied it to the postrevolutionary and democratically elected government. Do you understand that?

[Nastase] Several things would have to be clarified in this respect. First the circumstances under which Ceausescu got it. The United States has always followed developments in Romania with great interest; however, there is currently a certain lack of communication at the political level. At the same time, we have created a negative image at the domestic policy level. But I still think that the granting of the Most Favored Nation status is only a matter of time.

Prime Minister Continues Visit to Gulf States

Meets, Holds Talks With Kuwaiti Ministers

AU2205122691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1140 GMT 22 May 91

[Excerpts] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/5/1991—Prime Minister Petre Roman arrived on Tuesday [21 May] in Kuwait for an official visit, at the head of a government delegation. [passage omitted]

Tuesday, 21 May, Premier Petre Roman started contacts with members of the Kuwaiti Government. The talks with the Minister of Finance Nasir al-Ridan focused on the identification of fields of cooperation, among which tourism, medical care, extinction of well fire were mentioned. It was specified that Romanian agriculture could prove to be of interest for possible Kuwaiti investors.

Premier Roman also received the Kuwaiti deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, Shaykh Salim al-Sabah al-Salim. Tuesday, 21 May, official talks in plenum started between the delegations led by the heads of government of Romania and Kuwait. The members of the two delegations also had bilateral talks.

The Romanian Minister for the State Budget Florin Bercea and the Kuwaiti Minister of Finance Nasir al-Ridan signed an agreement for mutually promoting and protecting investments. The two ministers were of the opinion the accord was the result of the special relations between the two countries,that are going to be strengthened.

Minister Florin Bercea also signed with the Kuwaiti Minister of Trade and Industry 'Abdallah Hasan al-Jarallah, a commercial agreement considered to be "a first foundation stone of a future cooperation."

Further on Meeting With Ministers

AU2205155791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1337 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/5/1991—On an official visit to Kuwait, Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman received Tuesday, 21 May, the Kuwaiti Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah al-Sabah [name and title as received], with whom he surveyed aspects of bilateral relations. The interest was underlined the Gulf states should have in developments in East European, countries, the necessity for them to take part in the changes going on in these countries.

Premier Roman pointed to Romania's wish to develop its relations with the members of the Gulf Cooperation Council and suggested these countries should meet the East European countries, after the model of the meeting with the members of the "Rio Group." It was specified that Romania was interested in normalizing its relations with Saudi Arabia, in which Kuwait could be of help.

A round of talks was held next between Romania's prime minister and the crown prince and prime minister of the state of Kuwait, Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah al-Sabah, followed by plenary discussions between the delegations of the two countries.

Aspects were analyzed of bilateral cooperation in various fields and the Romanian Government expressed its willingness to encourage cooperation in the public and private sectors, by investments in Romania included.

The Kuwaiti premier was of the opinion that prime minister Petre Roman's visit to Kuwait was an important step towards a fruitful cooperation.

Romania's premier enlisted the fields in which his country had full experience and capability to contribute to the recovery and reconstruction of Kuwait, namely oil extraction and processing, control of oil industry accidents, building, water supply, building and use of power lines. Tourism, agriculture, the foodstuff industry could be of interest for Kuwaiti investors.

At the close of the talks, the Kuwaiti premier told the press he was satisfied with the results of the talks, whose centerpiece was bilateral relations and during which future cooperation actions were established between t?e two countries.

Tuesday 22 May, Premier Petre Roman, also had successive interviews with the Kuwaiti Minister of Public Health 'Abd-al-Wahab Suleiman al-Fawzan and the secretary-general of the Gulf Council of Cooperation Abdallah al-Bishara.

Premier Petre Roman's program of today, 22 May, includes contacts with the minister of oil, the minister of the plan, the minister of power and water and the governor of the Central Bank.

After a noon press conference, the Romanian delegation will fly to the United Arab Emirates, the next phase of the official visit to gulf countries.

Meets Press in Kuwait City

AU2205195991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1900 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] Kuwait City ROMPRES, 22/05/1991—During a press conference held in Kuwait's capital city Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman set forth the main domains of the future cooperation between Romania and Kuwait among which are the repair and building of oil refineries, the extinction of the burning oil wells in Kuwait, broadening of commercial exchanges.

The Romanian experts are now in Kuwait and will take part in the next few days in the extinction of the burning oil wells, stated the Romanian premier. Likewise the Romanian side is ready to sent experts to help repairing and even building new refineries and other oil plants, Petre Roman added.

On an economic plane, the Romanian head of government said, two accords have been signed with the Kuwaiti authorities, one on investment protection and the other on trade.

Romania backs the organization of a peace conference in the Middle East provided conditions are put in place for a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, stated Romania's prime minister.

Referring to the relations between Romania and Iraq, Petre Roman stressed that the Romanian ambassador had not returned to Baghdad yet and there had been no military cooperation between the two countries after Ceausescu had been ousted in 1989.

As for Baghdad's financial debts to Bucharest they amount to two billion dollars to say nothing about the works the Romanian companies could not finish in Iraq because of the invasion of Kuwait, the Romanian premier also said.

Senate Session Report; UDMR Senators Present

AU2205162491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1543 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/5/1991—After the tense debates of the previous day when the UDMR [Democratic Association of Hungarians of Romania] refused to take part in the voting of Romania's national security law walking out of the hall, the Senate gathered in a new public session on Wednesday, May 22. Senators of all political groups, the UDMR included, were present.

The accountancy law was debated and unanimously passed, to come into force starting January 1, 1992, as well as the law for the amendment of Article 24 Paragraph 1 of Law 31/1990 of commercial companies.

The senators started debating the bill on employees' holidays and other leaves. The bill has already been passed by the Assembly of Deputies, with chances that the Senate might approve the final version soon. The first three articles have been passed already during today's session. Worth mentioning is the fact that the employees are entitled to a paid holiday of minimum 18 days, as to 15 so far, and young people under 18 to minimum 24 days.

Although not debated yet, arresting the attention is the article stipulating that besides holidays, the employees have the right to a number of paid days off for special family events.

R. Policrat Expelled From PNL After Statement

AU2205160791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1405 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] The Steering Committee of the National Liberal Party [PNL] decided, Wednesday, 22 May, to expel Rene Radu Policrat from its ranks, as a consequence of a statement he made before the Assembly of Deputies, regarding his withdrawal from the PNL Parliamentary Group and the creation of a new neo-liberal group.

Brucan on Possibility of Early Elections in Oct

AU2205121991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1157 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/5/1991—Political scientist Silviu Brucan says, in an interview with "LIBERTATEA" daily, that "the results of the 20 May elections did not reflect the real balance of forces between the various political parties and that was how the National Salvation Front [FSN] found itself saddled with a task and a responsibility it was not prepared for." Commenting on the Front's internal wrangling, he showed that "as the political and economic reforms advance, the enormous mass of the front is sifting and regrouping, three being at present, in his opinion, the main trends within the FSN: the former nomenklatura-backed conservative trend, represented by the duo Martian-Barladeanu, relying on the old party and state structures; the centrist tendency, embodied by President Ion Iliescu and the progressist-reformist wing headed by the Roman-Severin-Stoica triplet.

Relative to the possible conversion of the Civic Alliance into a party, Mr. Brucan considers it "a positive phenomenon, that could greatly strengthen the opposition and through it, democracy, and which is therefore welcome."

Silviu Brucan thinks that in Romania "early elections will be called, probably in October," for two main reasons: the wish of the opposition to share in the power and the wish of the government to hold elections before winter. The next elections will no longer bring the FSN that comfortable majority that has enabled it to govern practically in total disregard of the opposition, said Mr. Brucan.

Minister Dijmarescu Sees Privatization Progressing

AU2205123391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1120 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/5/1991—"The transition is in progress and the changes underway in the Romanian society will be faster and more relevant as the land act becomes fully effective and the great privatisation bill is submitted to parliament," said Economy and Finance Minister Eugen Dijmarescu in an interview broadcast by Radio Bucharest on the first anniversary of the May 20, 1990 elections. The conversion of former state enterprises into public corporations and commercial companies is a process nearing its end. At the end of April 1991, 58 public corporations were already in operation, 3,403 commercial companies and 143,150 private dealers already registered, of which 45,000 operating in the manufacturing and sales sectors. According to Mr. Dijmarescu,the share of the private sector to the gross domestic products reached, for the first four months of 1991, 15 per cent.

But not everything goes well, he added. The cost of the transition implies unemployment, high inflation rate, a 40 percent gap between price and salary growth rates. Although predictable for this phase of the transition, the disorder in the relations between enterprises had gone farther than expected.

Hardships objectively entailed by the transition to a market economy are augmented by shortcomings like the subjective approach, lack of adequate training, non-responsiveness of the social component to these changes. Very few are now ready to bear the transition costs. If people were aware of its necessity, production would not be now 20 percent below reference figures, it would have probably stopped at 5-8 percent under the level of reference.

Starting from March 1991, production has slightly grown, in some branches with promising prospects. In April, for instance, output in the metal working industry increased by 9.7 percent as against the previous month, vehicle manufacturing by 15.4 percent, building materials by 14.7 percent.

For the same period of time, exports revenues fell 40 percent as against the corresponding 1990 timespan, which seriously brakes on raw materials and power supplies.

This arises mainly from contract breaches between Romanian manufacturing partners (the delay in honoring contracts amounts to almost 15 billion lei), which deprives Romanian consumers of the quantities and quality of products they need.

The National Agency for Privatisation and the Council for the Reform are intensely working on the draft law of great privatisation, to make it ready for submission to parliament. The bill in question has taken into consideration the experience accumulated in Western, Central and Eastern Europe. After Hungary, which has partially started this process, Romania will be the first country in this part of the world that will [word indistinct] proceed to the great privatisation. Neither Czechoslovakia, nor Poland, he said, have elaborated so far a complete law of great privatisation. What they have called privatisation is, in our view, a mere leasing. The Romanian concept, consisting in the distribution, free, of 30 percent of the fixed assets of commercial companies, will form an incipient capital market in Romania, that may back the further steps of the process. Mr. Dijmarescu considers as most important that provision of the law which enables the employees of a commercial company to gain a preferential access to the company's shares, besides the 30 percent free allocation.

Mesic Views Current Crisis for French Daily

PM2305073491 Paris LE FIGARO in French 21 May 91 p 3

[Interview with Presidency President Stipe Mesic by Xavier Gautier in Zagreb; date not given]

[Text] Zagreb—Mr. Mesic is an obstinate politician. Yesterday it was to Zagreb that he came to explain why and how he intends to exercise his term as president of the Yugoslav federation, which Serbia and its allies continue to veto. In an interview to LE FIGARO, this 57-year old Croatian lawyer explained the purpose of his struggle for a new Yugoslavia. After a vote of 94 percent in favor of Croatian sovereignty in the referendum, he also commented on this result which is a success for the new noncommunist team at the head of Yugoslavia's second biggest republic. The priority for this energetic man with a graying beard is "to show that the federal presidency exists, even if it cannot make any decisions." This is a difficult if not impossible task when international opinion is finding it increasingly difficult to untangle the web of the Yugoslav crisis. Meanwhile the Belgrade Constitutional Court is saying nothing and the Army is finding it increasing difficult to conceal its impatience.

[Gautier] How do you plan to exercise your presidency?

[Mesic] On the basis of the prerogatives granted to me (by the Constitution—LE FIGARO editor's note). I intend to call a meeting of the Federation's collegial presidency. It will take place this week. We will carry out our normal decisionmaking work after trying to reactivate the presidential mechanism. Any other solution (a coordinator has been appointed to try to break the deadlock—LE FIGARO editor's note) is completely unconstitutional.

[Gautier] You now almost seem to want to save Yugoslavia?

[Mesic] What we are trying to preserve is indeed the existing system; but just until a new system is negotiated.

[Gautier] What about your comment that has been reported: "I will be the last Yugoslav president."

[Mesic] I never said that. I just said that during my mandate (of one year—LE FIGARO editor's note) the principles of a new organization will have to be established according to the principle of an alliance among sovereign states. When? That is another question.

[Gautier] What does this alliance and this Yugoslav confederation mean? How can it be achieved?

[Mesic] The fact that four republics are moving toward the establishment of a confederation of sovereign states (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Macedonia) and that just two—Serbia and Montenegro (Mr. Mesic is implying that Serbia has made satellites of Vojvodina and Kosovo—LE FIGARO editor's note) oppose it, highlights that the trend is clearly in our favor.

[Gautier] Serbia is still categorically opposing it.

[Mesic] What I hope is that the world understands. Serbia and Montenegro will eventually accept a compromise or they will be forced to find a separate solution for themselves.

[Gautier] Will you meet with European Commission Chairman Delors and current EEC Chairman Jacques Santerre during their visit to Yugoslavia at the end of the month?

[Mesic] I intend to do so to discuss the extension of the EC economic assistance agreements for all the republics of Yugoslavia.

[Gautier] In the political sphere....

[Mesic] I will reaffirm that we are in favor of any solution that safeguards Yugoslavia's existing borders. Above all we must not encourage those who are trying to change them by force.

[Gautier] What is your analysis of the result of the Croatian referendum that, for the voters, means opening up the way to independence?

[Mesic] The referendum shows international opinion that the only acceptable solution for our (Croatian—LE FIGARO editor's note) nation is an alliance of sovereign states.

[Gautier] Do you fear civil war?

[Mesic] Preserving Yugoslavia as it is, as an artificial body, is the best way of turning it into a powder keg.

Slovene Assembly Chamber Recognizes Mesic

LD2205195191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1750 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 22 May (TANJUG)—The sociopolitical chamber of the Slovene Assembly recognizes Stipe Mesic as the legitimate president of the SFRY Presidency, and calls on the Federal Presidency to proclaim him and to announce his election.

This is stressed in a statement passed by the sociopolitical chamber of the Slovene Assembly after the adoption of the initiative of Ciril Ribicic, deputy of the Party of Democratic Reform, according to which the Slovene Assembly should recognize Stipe Mesic as the legitimate president of the SFRY Presidency.

In its statement, the sociopolitical chamber of the Slovene Assembly also informs the Federal Assembly and the SFRY Presidency that it will not consider legal and legitimate any one-sided decisions of the "incomplete" presidency and its "coordinator." The other two chambers of the Slovene Assembly will make a decision concerning the recognition of Stipe Mesic at their next sessions.

Markovic: Situation 'Complex,' 'Under Control'

LD2205190391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, 22 May (TANJUG)—Luxembourg Prime Minister and EC Chairman Jacques Santer had a telephone conversation today with Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic. During their telephone conversation, which lasted for half an hour, Jacques Santer informed Ante Markovic that, together with President of the EC Executive Commission Jacques Delors, he will visit Yugoslavia on 29 and 30 May on the basis of a mandate which the community gave them.

Asked by Santer to brief him on the current situation in our country, the FEC president said that the situation is complex, but under control, and that the SFRY Assembly and the government are functioning normally and doing their utmost to move in the direction of stabilization and democratic resolution of the crisis that was caused by the failure to elect the SFRY Presidency president.

According to a statement from the FEC president's office, Prime Minister Santer stressed that he wished to help the democratic processes in Yugoslavia based on the courageous program of the government and its president, which are wholeheartedly supported by the community. The EC, Santer said, again stresses its support for the political and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia and for the reform process based on democracy, through which problems will be solved in a peaceful way and Yugoslavia brought closer to Europe.

Reportage on Reaction to Nickles Amendment

Foreign Secretariat Statement

LD2205175191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1554 GMT 22 May 91

[Statement by Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs on the Nickles Amendment; place and date not given]

[Text] Belgrade, 22 May (TANJUG)—The so-called Nickles Amendment to the law on U.S. foreign aid has been the subject of talks in intense diplomatic contacts between the Yugoslav and U.S. sides over the last few months in Belgrade and Washington. Federal Secretary Budimir Loncar has talked several times with U.S. Ambassador Warren Zimmerman about the amendment.

By adopting the Nickles Amendment last October, the U.S. Senate made further financial aid for Yugoslavia directly and indirectly conditional upon respect for certain democratic principles, especially free and multiparty elections and observance of human rights.

The Yugoslav side has constantly pointed out that Yugoslavia, while valuing the understanding and support of the United States for the processes of reforms and the democratic transformation in our country, expects that the U.S. Administration will not take steps which could, in essence, above all affect these processes and their advocates. Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic pointed out this fact to U.S. President George Bush, in a telephone call on 20 May.

Yugoslavia, therefore, expects that the concrete and final decision of the State Department on the application of the Nickles amendment will not create difficulties in cooperation between our country and the United States or with international financial institutions. Yugoslavia expects that the decision will be in accordance with the messages received so far and the statements of support for the unity and the democratic transformation of Yugoslavia, as well as with the mutual interests in good Yugoslav-U.S. relations.

Montenegro's Kostic Reacts

LD2205125691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1159 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, 22 May (TANJUG)—SFRY presidency member Branko Kostic told TANJUG today that U.S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia Warren Zimmermann's statement yesterday on the resolution of the SFRY Presidency crisis represents an act of direct interference in Yugoslav internal affairs. According to the press, Zimmermann, among other things, said in a number of press statements that "the alleviation of Nickles' amendment would partly depend on whether Mesic will be allowed to assume the function of the SFRY Presidency president".

"Perhaps Mr. Zimmermann forgot for a moment that he is not in the United States of America, where he would be able to take part in the election of the president of his country, but he is in Yugoslavia, where he, being an American citizen, and moreover, being an ambassador, is not able to take part in the election of the SFRY Presidency member.

"I personally have a high regard for the great and very friendly American people and their democratic tradition.

"However, Mr. Zimmermann's statement is in conflict with this tradition and represents direct interference in our internal affairs. Our nations have in their history faced attempts from abroad to interfere. On all these occasions we have showed that our pride and dignity, freedom and independence are more important than any economic aid.

"I am convinced that this time too, our people would decide to keep its independence and freedom, even at the price of eating grass, rather than accepting economic aid that would be conditioned with the loss of that independence.

"I hope that Mr. Zimmermann's statement does not represent an ultimatum as such. I will be glad if his statement proves to be a result of his momentary lapse, and not of a premeditated act", SFRY Presidency member Branko Kostic concluded in his statement for TANJUG.

Bosnian President Comments

LD2205140591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1122 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 22 May (TANJUG)—Asked by TANJUG about the U.S. Government's restrictions, Alija Izetbegovic said he believed it was only meant as a warning, but it would hang over the country like a sword of Damocles. He is, however, surprised by the attitude to this warning by some of the high-level Yugoslav leaders and their easy-going attitude to possible consequences if the United States suspends economic assistance. If the United States is to enforce the announced measures, Yugoslavia would be plunged into a catastrophic situation, Izetbegovic said.

Alija Izetbegovic also said that Bosnia-Hercegovina would probably hold a referendum of its citizens for or against a sovereign and indivisible Bosnia-Hercegovina. To organize a referendum, however, we need to create political conditions with the help of competent legal institutions, such as the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly. In his view and that of the Party of Democratic Action, arrived at on the basis of a research, about 80 percent of Bosnia- Hercegovina citizens would vote for a sovereign Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Asked about the "Ostojic incident" [attack against Bosnia-Hercegovina Information Minister Ostojic] Izetbegovic said Velibor Ostojic was making political accusations from his hospital bed while an investigation into the incident was still under way. The attack could have been for political or personal reasons. Nothing should be prejudged before the investigation is completed, Izetbegovic stressed.

EC Spokesman Cited on Suspension of Economic Aid

LD2205091191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1822 GMT 21 May 91

[Text] Brussels, May 21 (TANJUG)—The European Community (EC) has no plans to make any move similar to the U.S. suspension of economic aid to Yugoslavia, an EC Commission spokesman told a press conference here today.

The spokesman said that EC and Yugoslavia would shortly initial a third financial protocol which approves considerably higher [word indistinct] to Yugoslavia.

Relations with Yugoslavia are regulated according to its status as a Mediterranean country, and Yugoslavia has been accepted into the "PHARE" [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program, aimed at enabling the economic renewal of Central and Eastern Europe.

EC-Yugoslav cooperation is normal and EC Commission President Jacques Delors and Luxembourg Prime Miister Jacques Santer, whose country currently holds the rotating presidency of the Community, will make a visit to Belgrade, previously planned for early May, late this month or in early June, the spokesman announced.

In Yugoslavia the EC delegation will call for the preservation of the country's territorial unity, and the continuation of economic and political reforms, the spokesman said and added that Santer and Delors would meet with Federal and republican officials.

TANJUG Notes UK 'Warns' Nation on Aid

LD2205165291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1558 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] London, May 22 (TANJUG)—Other Western countries could follow the U.S. example and make a ultimatum to Yugoslavia in a bid to force this country to begin respecting human rights, elect a state Presidency president according to the already determined rota system, end mutual conflicts and begin implementing reforms, official British sources are saying.

The sources set out that in case Yugoslavia rejects these demands, it will be put under a complete economic and political blockade.

The British press and officials have great hopes in Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic's "crisis staff," which they say could possibly halt the disintegration of the country and begin the implementation of the reforms, without which there can be no Western financial aid.

Markovic Airs Views on 'Irrational' Conflict

LD2205212191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1833 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] Paris, 22 May (TANJUG)—"The federation-confederation conflict is irrational, just like many other things in our country," said Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic in a lengthy statement for special correspondent Alain Debove, to be published in LE MONDE tomorrow. Markovic added that he "does not believe that this conflict will last long because economic and social problems will not allow it." "All republics are being forced to find a solution quickly, and none of them will be able to switch to a market economy completely on their own."

Markovic believes that "switching [to market economy]" individually would be more expensive, noting that "some republics perhaps believe the contrary to be true, if they do it outside Yugoslavia." "However, if one takes into consideration how long this quibbling, the process of separation and the regulation of mutual relations with republics and with the outside world, as well as the determining of internal borders, will take, it will ultimately be more expensive," said the president of the FEC.

According to Markovic, the Federal Government "is persevering in its efforts to find a solution which would be final, neither a federation nor a confederation. In effect, it tries to

determine the minimum basis for new relations between republics, within the framework of pluralist and democratic regime in a joint state," stressed the Yugoslav prime minister in his statement to LE MONDE.

Markovic said that "political events have halted the economic reforms," but added that these are not only an economic issue. "It is a question of the organization of the whole state and society," stressed the premier, and added that "all this is no surprise for the government." "I in fact warned parliament that at some point in the implementation of these changes, all the conservative, dogmatic, separatist, hegemonistic and other forces of this kind would unite against the program of economic reforms in an attempt to stp and overturn them," Markovic said. He added that he indicated that the reforms "would last five years and that they would demand tears and sweat and a high price for the transition from one system to another." I am not surprised, but I think "we have now reached the critical point of the reform".

According to the FEC president, "the reforms have revealed the real underdevelopment of the country, and the political changes have brought to light the lack of understanding and democratic experience." According to Markovic, "the Federal Government is nevertheless fighting for the reforms, for the democratization of society, and hence for a single Yugoslavia without borders."

He added that "there are republics that are struggling under the pressure of nationalism, for internal borders within the country," and he expressed the conviction that "the former ideas will prevail over the latter." "If I did not believe this, I would doubt progress." Markovic stressed.

The FEC president agreed "not just that the reforms have entered the critical phase, but that the overall situation in the country is very serious." He then stressed that "it is necessary to start with reforms again to overcome the situation." He also added that "the seven-month stagnation in the implementation of the reforms has had only negative consequences, causing additional social tensions and unemployment."

Markovic especially underlined that, despite everything, the government's program yielded some results in several fields and that this is the reason why he believes that, with help from the citizens, there is a chance that reforms will be continued. Probed by the LE MONDE journalists, Markovic added "and with the support from several republics."

Asked "whether some republics are causing instability," Markovic said: "Of course, instability suits some political forces which are strengthening their power by fabricating enemies. Normalization is not to their advantage."

The FEC president stressed that the Presidency "is going through a crisis, but other institutions are functioning." He cited as examples the Assembly and the Government.

Talking about foreign aid, prime minister Markovic recalled that "reforms have been implemented almost without foreign aid." In this context he touched on the issue of the U.S. aid saying that "President Bush confirmed over the phone a few evenings ago that he supports the economic reforms and democratization of Yugoslav society." According to Markovic, he also "voiced support for the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia."

Markovic expressed the view that "the country will overcome the current phase of the crisis by the end of the year." "Economic and social problems will worsen, as a result of which all political forces will be forced to work on finding a solution to these problems. They will have no other choice, because, otherwise, the consequences will be very serious," Markovic said in the interview for LE MONDE, which is to be published on the occasion of his visit to Paris. Markovic's visit starts tomorrow with a meeting with Prime Minister Edith Cresson.

Information Secretariat Criticizes 'Untruths'

LD2205211191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1736 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, May 22 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government Wednesday strongly criticized some of the country's papers for recently publishing "untruths, insinuations and even slander," against Prime Minister Ante Markovic.

The government information secretariat today issued a statement saying that the press reports in question focus on Monday evening's telephone conversation between Markovic and U.S. President George Bush, after which it was announced that the U.S. leader supports "the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia and the reforms of Prime Minister Markovic and his government aimed at furthering the country's democratic transformation."

The statement expecially criticizes Ljubljana daily DELO for "insulting both Markovic and the president of the United States of America."

DELO is blamed for describing a "president of a friendly foreign country, who is concerned about the situation in our country" as a "ham-handed world policeman behaving in Yugoslavia's internal-political affairs like an elephant in a China shop."

DELO charges Markovic for "wanting to take over competences which he does not have under the constitution," the statement says and adds that "Belgrade daily

POLITIKA and Titograd paper POBJEDA also took a similar, albeit more polite, stand."

It is evident, the statement sets out, that "extremist political groups in Yugoslavia, which advocate either separatist or hegemonistic stands, are against the policies of Ante Markovic, who is trying to resolve the Yugoslav crisis through reforms and democratization, i.e. in a peaceful way and through negotiation by all."

However, the document recalls that it is precisely Markovic's approach which "has the broad support" of both the Yugoslav people and the "world and European politics."

The statement says that "the slanderous disinformation" is [word indistinct] "undermining the federal government's reputation in the eyes of the domestic and foreign public, in order to clear the space for the two extreme options to explain to the world their one-sided actions."

"As long as this government survives ... It will not permit the existence in Yugoslavia of either those who want to establish a state to suit them alone, or those who would like to do away with the state by a unilateral act or force," the government information secretariat says.

General Pujic Airs Views on Army Recruitment

LD2205052891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1313 GMT 21 May 91

[Text] Novi Sad, 21 May (TANJUG)—In keeping with the amended law on military service, recruitment is expected to soon be taken over by the armed forces, that is the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]. In accordance with legislation, the dispatch of recruits to serve their national service is carried out in accordance with an approved formula provided by the headquarters of our Armed Forces.

This was stated today by Major General Milan Pujic to a Radio Novi Sad program in the Hungarian language when answering a question on who decides on recruiting young people for the JNA and who decides on where they will do their military service.

General Pujic, who is assistant deputy federal secretary of national defense responsible for the civilian sector, recalled that previously, until 1987, the function of sending recruits into the Army was under the aegis of the Army, but afterwards, in keeping with the general effort to socialize defense, this function was transferred from the army to sociopolitical committees.

Experience shows, however, in Pujic's assessment, that sociopolitical committees have not done this job as they should and there are cases when individual republics did not send all their recruits in accordance with the approved formula they received from the Army—that is, into JNA units and institutions throughout the country—but kept a number of recruits in excess of the permitted number, which was 20 percent, on the territory of their own republics.

If this practice were to continue, in General Pujic's assessment, the nature of the JNA and its pro-Yugoslav orientation would be infringed, and this would lead to the formation of republican armies. This would not suit Yugosalvia as a community of equal nations and nationalities either now or at some future date.

For these reasons, General Pujic explained, the new law has restored this social function to the Armed Forces. Moreover, he added, in other countries too this activity comes under the jurisdiction of the Armed Forces.

Croatian Referendum Shows Independence Favored

LD2205115991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1059 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] Zagreb, 22 May (TANJUG)—The republican commission responsible for the referendum in the Republic of Croatia today issued the official referendum results in which 83.56 percent of the total of registered voters had taken part, 93.24 percent of whom declared themselves in favor of a sovereign and independent Croatia.

According to complete data from 7,691 polling stations, a total of 3,051,881 out of a total of 3,652,225 registered voters in the republic took part in the referendum. At the referendum, 2,845,521 voters said yes to: "That the Republic of Croatia, as a sovereign and independent country, which guarantees cultural autonomy and all civic rights to the Serbs and members of other nationalities in Croatia, may with other republics join a federation of sovereign states." Some 4.15 percent of the voters voted against this proposal while 1.18 percent of voting ballots were invalid.

To the second question "Are you in favor of the Republic of Croatia remaining in Yugoslavia as a Federal State," 5.38 percent answered in the positive while 92.18 percent of voters voted against this proposal.

'Pressure' on Serbians in Croatia Protested

LD2205083291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1905 GMT 21 May 91

[Text] Zagreb, 21 May (TANJUG)—The appearance of banners and pressure on citizens of Serbian nationality throughout Croatia to subscribe to and publicly display their loyalty to Croatian authorities is opening the door to totalitarianism and dangerous trends. This assessment was made tonight by those taking part in a public meeting in the Bozidar Adzija community in Zagreb.

Proclamations and manifestations of this type are alarming and are not in the interest either of the Croatian or the Serbian population in Croatia, because the same "loyalty" arguments will tomorrow be used against those expressing a social or any other kind of rebellion, regardless of their national membership.

During the meeting the organizers—the Federation of Reformists, the League of Social Democrats, the opposition Democratic Forum, and the local branch of the party of Democratic Changes of Croatia—pointed out the casues and consequences of the latest events. The need to offer resistance to manifestatations of hatred and exclusivity, safeguarding personal and political freedoms, and the rights of citizens in the republic were stressed.

Vrlika Citizens Block Entry of JNA Forces

LD2205053791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1927 GMT 21 May 91

[Text] Sinj, 21 May (TANJUG)—A dispute occurred this afternoon between the villages of Vrlika and Civljane, known for barricades between JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] members and local inhabitants.

The Knin garrison unit stationed in Civljane since the end of last month tried to move from deep in Civljane to the very entry into Vrlika on the western side. The people of Vrlika who interpreted this as a provocation by the JNA marched onto the road—there were about 300 of them—and physically prevented soldiers from setting up a ramp on this section of the road behind which the armored transport carrier unit was to be stationed.

After the protests, talks, and attempts to give assurances the Army eventually withdrew to the earlier line deep in the village of Civljane, and the inhabitants of Vrlika peacefuly dispersed to their homes.

Markovic, Zelenovic Meet on Economic Policy

LD2205230691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2115 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, 22 May (TANJUG)—As part of a series of meetings between representatives of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] and the republican governments, the FEC representatives, led by FEC President Ante Markovic, and representatives of the Serbian republic, led by President Dragutin Zelenovic, met in Belgrade today to discuss the basic problems concerning the economic life and economic policy in Yugoslavia and in Serbia.

The two presidents were reported to have agreed that it was necessary, in a relatively short period of time, to develop the relations and instruments aimed at ensuring the openness and unity of the Yugoslav economic sphere and market, as well as eliminating a series of concrete measures that hinder the economic life of the country. It was necessary for all the republics to do it simultaneously.

The Serbian government representatives proposed to the FEC to place economic problems at the center of its activity as soon as possible, without neglecting other complex and difficult issues in Yugoslavia. Particular emphasis was laid on considering a need to make changes to some areas of the macroeconomic policy within the FEC stabilization program. The present concept of the macroeconomic policy represents a serious hindrance to the realization of the Serbian government's program and if a certain amount of adapting is not carried out, other solutions will have to be sought for the realization of this program.

Special attention was drawn to the situation in the area of eastern Slavonia from the point of view of the status of the people who had crossed over to Vojvodinaa and an analysis made of the measures taken by the FEC.

Serb Socialist Party Denounces Muslim Formations

LD2205205291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1455 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, 22 May (TANJUG)—The executive committee of the Main Committee of the Serbian Socialist Party [Socijalisticka Partija Srbije—SPS] denounces the formation of the so-called Muslim National Council for Sandzak [Muslimanslo Nacionalno Vece—MNV]. This represents a crude assault on the constitutional order of the Republic of Serbia, which guarantees to all citizens and nations equality, civil rights and liberties, and the preservation and development of their national identity, today's statement stresses.

This act, organized by the leadership of the Democratic Action Party for Sandzak [Stranka Demokratske Akcije—SDA], is directly aimed at breaking up the territorial integrity of the Republic of Serbia, and is sowing discord among members of the Serbian and Muslim nations in this part of Serbia and jeopardizing their equality and security, the statement of the executive committee of the SPS Main Committee says.

The executive committee of the SPS Main Committee is most strongly condemning the formation of the so-called SDA units, as well as all other forms of militarization of political parties and other organizations. Paramilitary and similar illegal organizations are inducing the feeling of insecurity and are both potentially and actually opening up possibilities for civil and national conflicts.

The committee demands that the Serbian government to undertake urgent legal measures and immediately put an end to such actions and prevent similar attempts, the statement concludes.

Terazije Forum Demands New Interior Minister

LD2305005791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1355 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] Belgrade, May 22 (TANJUG)—The Forum of the Terazije Parliament, a non-partisan organization formed after student demonstrations in Belgrade in March this year, demanded today that a new interior minister be appointed at once to replace outgoing Minister Radmilo Bogdanovic, who resigned from the post after the protest.

The Forum said in an open letter to the Serbian Assembly that the "pronounced media exposure of Bogdanovic clearly shows that the authorities are completely ignoring Serbia's democratic public, which unanimously condemned repression by the police during the events in March."

One of the students' demands during the March protest was for the replacement of Bogdanovic, who they said was responsible for the use of force by the police during the March 9 opposition demonstrations, when one policeman and one protester were killed and dozens of people injured.

Bogdanovic did resign from the post, but the Serbian Assembly has not appointed a replacement, so that Bogdanovic is still performing his duties as interior minister.

The forum, which assembles students and intellectuals, also called for early elections to be held in Serbia as an essential prerequsite for a settlement to the "all-round crisis" and a way to prevent the "inevitable social explosion."

The first post-war multi-party elections in Serbia were held in December last year.

Slovene Opposition Against Hasty Secession

AU2205212191 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 May 91 p 14

[Olivera Popovic report: "Secession Is Not Solving Problems"]

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 14 May—What the legal foundations of the future independent Slovenia will look like will be known after 26 June, by which time the Slovene government and the Assembly should adopt a package of laws that would finish the project of "Slovenia's independence." Ordinary people and journalists started the "slow countdown," which will last until that day. Because of fervent political circumstances in the country, many Slovene politicians and deputies are running out of patience. Some are even calling for immediate secession.

Members of the Party of Democratic Reform, former communists, appear to be politically the most patient of all.

"Even after 16 June, Slovenia will be inside Yugoslavia, but will have the proclaimed right to decide its own affairs; therefore, the process of acquiring independence or dissociation will continue after that day. It is not possible at all to complete everything by the set deadline. The government was late in the very beginning and is now pressed by time." This was stated by Emil Milan Pintar, president of the Slovene "shadow government" and member of the Party of Democratic Reform. [passage omitted]

The Party of Democratic Reform is the strongest party in the Slovene Assembly (14 out of 80 deputies in the Sociopolitical Chamber are members of this party) and has between 27,000 and 30,000 members. It is not a member of Demos but is making its life difficult with the stands which it advocates as the "shadow government" which is headed by Pintar. What do the former communists think about Slovenia's dissociation?

"We have never been in favor of straight secession, because this does not solve national or state problems. We have always favored consentaneous solutions. By dissociating itself or by becoming independent, Slovenia would for the first time be in charge of its economic policies, development, about its future," Pintar said, "but this does not have to be outside the framework of Yugoslavia."

Pintar says that the awareness about the need to be sovereign is unstoppably growing in Slovenia, but people in principle do not want to secede for the "sake of seceding." However, Pintar continues, Demos is conducting affairs in a somewhat clumsy and contradictory way, and it appears that Slovenia is seceding. [passage omitted]

"Secession" Only In Exceptional Circumstances

There is one interesting exception when even the "reformists" (as some Slovenes call them out of affection, and others because of their political activities, depending on a point of view) would consider secession.

"Secession will be at 'play' only in exceptional circumstances and only if a broader military conflict occurs, because we are afraid that we would then end up paying more then anybody else. As neutral, if there was a major conflict, the Slovene units, together with Muslim and Macedonian units, would have to mediate between the parties in conflict. We do not want to do that." Pintar says.

Pintar stresses that his party is absolutely in favor of keeping the door open to agreements. Let us recall, at the end of February Pintar led a Slovene delegation to Belgrade for talks with the representatives of the Serbian Renewal Movement and the Democratic Party. Pintar says that he also spoke to Vladan Kutlesic from the office of the president of Serbia. At that time they offered a new model of the state organization in which the influence of each republic would be proportionate to its real power.

Today, this is one of their main theses. Yugoslavia? Yes, but the influence of the republics must be approximately equal to their economic power. According to Pintar, the Slovenes now feel threatened for several reasons.

First, they feel the pressure of immigrants from other republics who arrived in the 1970's but have not integrated in the Slovene milieu. We are also threaten by the federal polices that have placed Slovene enterprises in a worse situation than other enterprises. We also feel

threatened because our national pride has been hurt, because we want to make decisions on our future ourselves. We are convinced that Yugoslavia is not ready to solve its economic crisis in a modern way, and that Slovenia is—Pintar said enumerating reasons why Slovenia wants to dissociate itself from Yugoslavia.

Slovene Assembly Letter Confirms Separation

AU2205151191 Ljubljana NEODVISNI DNEVNIK in Slovene 9 May 91 p 4

[Letter from the Slovene Assembly to Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic and to the presidents of the republican executive councils, dated 9 May]

[Text]**A Letter to the SFRY Assembly**

I

The decision made at the plebiscite on 23 December 1990 obliges the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia and all other state organizations of the Republic of Slovenia to adopt the legal and other acts and measures for implementing this decision, and to do so within six months of the day the decision was announced. The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia adopted the "Resolution on the Proposal on Consentaneous Dissolution" of the SFRY at the joint session of all of its chambers on 20 February 1991.

With this resolution, which was addressed to all republican assemblies, the Slovene Assembly proposed a consentaneous dissolution of the SFRY into two or more sovereign and independent states, and notified the SFRY Assembly that it was initiating a procedure for such a separation.

II

The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia ascertains that despite repeated appeals, only the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia has responded to the resolution to date. The talks of the presidents of the republican presidencies or the presidents of the republics so far have not led to adoption of the proposal on consentaneous dissolution, or any other proposal.

III

The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia is still willing to cooperate with other republics and with the bodies of the Federation, discuss all questions concerning the process of dissolution, and search for a consentaneous solution, by which the mutual interests regarding the economic, political, international, and other relations would be fully and equally respected.

IV

The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia informs the SFRY Assembly that it will, in accordance with the plebiscitary decision, declare the sovereignty and independence of the state of the Republic of Slovenia by 26 June 1991 at the latest.

V

The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia is willing to initiate immediate talks with federal organizations regarding the following issues:—Forms and ways of performing certain functions on a temporary basis: by agreement, federal organizations will continue performing those functions for the Republic of Slovenia until Slovenia takes over the implementation of these functions in full.—The legal succession of the SFRY: in accordance with the regulations of the international law regarding the succession of the countries in terms of the country's property, archives, and debts;—Possible forms and ways of the economic, defense, international, and any other form of cooperation and links of the Republic of Slovenia with other republics of the present SFRY, or their possible union.

SDS in Krajina Considers Assembly Legitimate

AU2205200391 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 May 91 p 8

[B. R. report: "The Krajina Assembly Authorized to Hold Negotiations"]

[Text] Public communique issued by the Presidency of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] from the Serbian Autonomous Region [SAO] of Krajina regarding item five of the conclusions of the SFRY Presidency—according to which it is necessary to form a group consisting equally of the representatives of the Republic of Croatia, and the legitimate representatives of the Serbian nation in Croatia—states that the Assembly of the SAO of Krajina, the Executive Council, and the Serbian National Council, are the only legitimate representatives of the Serbian nation. The statement is signed by the party's President Dr. Ljubica Solaja.

The Assembly and the Executive Council of the SAO of Krajina are the legitimate bodies of authority and the representatives of the Serbian nation in Krajina. The Serbian National Council is the legitimate representative of the Serbian nation outside Krajina, because it acquired its legitimacy on the Assembly in Srb, 25 July 1990. This was confirmed at the plebiscite of the Serbian nation carried out between 19 August and 2 September last year when 567,317 members of the Serbian nation in Croatia took part in it, as well as 189,466 members of the Serbian nation outside the Croat borders of that time. The statement points out that certain interpretations claiming that only the SDS or the deputies in the Assembly are the legitimate representatives of the Serbian nation do not contribute toward the solution of the Serbian political problem considering that the legitimate bodies of the Assembly, the Executive Council of the SAO of Krajina and the Serbian National Council, consist of the representatives of several political parties in Krajina and elsewhere.

Regarding this statement, Dr. Solaja stressed that it is expected from the Republic of Croatia to make first steps after the statement by the SFRY Presidency was issued. The closure of all police stations of the Croat Ministry of Internal Affairs on the territory of the SAO of Krajina is the condition for negotiations.

Rumors of Slovene Draftee Desertions Circulate

AU2205164391 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 6 May 91 p 1

[Vojko Flegar report: "Are Slovenes Leaving Army Units in the Conflict Areas?"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 6 May—Unofficial sources report that several soldiers of Slovene nationality have deserted from the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] units stationed in the area of armed conflicts in Croatia, that is to say, within the Fifth Military District, in the last few days. The sources, which wished to remain anonymous, claim that the soldiers in question were draftees as well as professional soldiers.

The biggest group, supposedly consisting of five draftees and one junior officer, has allegedly deserted from a unit under the command of the Bihac Garrison and reached Slovenia mostly on foot between 1 and 4 May. The reason: psychological stress and the physical strains that they could no longer endure because of undernourishment. Young men come from various parts of Slovenia. In the meantime, the garrison commander's office has supposedly sent a notice to the parents of the draftees, informing them that if the draftees return voluntarily, the garrison would be willing to treat the incident as "an expanded weekend."

At the moment there are 6,000 Slovene draftees in the JNA, and it is possible that more of them will decide to leave their units, especially those units tasked with preventing "even worse interethnic clashes," which is in principle, as well as in reality, a very ambiguous task. We must say, though, that the Slovene state cannot officially protect them yet, as there are no legal grounds for it. Namely, the Slovene demand for the release of all draftees that have already served seven months is not a "call" for a deliberate desertion from the units. This is a demand addressed to the Federal Presidency and the Federal Government, which has not been answered yet. What to do, if Belgrade does not approve this, is a matter to be dealt with by the republican assembly.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

For a deliberate escape from the Armed Forces, that is to say, a desertion, criminal law imposes an imprisonment (from six months to five years for an absence longer than 30 days), but in some circumstances the criminal procedure can be substituted with disciplinary measures.

Slovenia Condemns Army Activity in Croatia

AU2205172391 Ljubljana NEODVISNI DNEVNIK in Slovene 9 May 91 p 4

[Statement issued by the Sloven Assembly on 8 May in connection with the 2 May killing of Croatian policemen in Borovo Selo; place not given]

[Text] The Slovene Assembly expresses its sincere concern and indignation about the events that took place in Croatia during the last few weeks and reached their tragic peak in Borovo Selo on 2 May.

The Slovene Assembly condemns the attacks on the bodies of the legal and legitimate Croatian authorities, and all those who stand behind such attacks, or allow preparations for such attacks to be carried out on their territory. Such behavior is aimed against the sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia, against the sovereignty of other republics, and against democracy.

The Slovene Assembly assesses that it is impossible to ignore the behavior of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] units during these events. Its biased activities are creating an ideal environment for the terrorist attacks and are causing a justified revolt in the Croatian nation and in other democratic nations. In this way the JNA itself is providing ground for the reproaches claiming that it is becoming a tool in the hands of the extremist forces of one single nation.

The Slovene Assembly expresses its sincere commiseration with the relatives of the victims, who were defending order as well as the democracy and the freedom of their own nation as their professional duty. The Slovene Assembly expresses the same feelings to the relatives of a Macedonian soldier who was killed during the riots in Split.

Slovene Green Party Supports Kosovo Autonomy

LD2305012391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1757 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] Ljubljana, May 22 (TANJUG)—Member of Slovenia's Green Party Dusan Plut today gave as his party's view that Serbs in Croatia should be granted political autonomy.

Speaking at a press conference in Ljubljanpn Plut, who is also member of the republican Presidency, said that the party believes this would help defuse tension in the country.

Slovenia's Green Party also believes that Serbia's province of Kosovo, whose population is mostly ethnic Albanian, should be given more political autonomy, he said.

Plut urged a peace initiative in Yugoslavia.

The Green Party is one of Slovenia's parties which support a peace declaration urging a demilitarization of

the republic. A total of 20,664 people have signed the declaration so far, it was announced today.

The declaration was launched by the Movement for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence, a non-governmental organization which plans a nation-wide drive on May 30 of putting up white flags for reconciliation under the slogan "Let's Be Realistic—Demand a Demilitarized Yugoslavia".

Macedonia 'Not Committed' to Confederation

LD2305005191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1844 GMT 22 May 91

[Text] Skopje, May 22 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav republic of Macedonia Kiro Gligorov said in an interview to DEMOKRATIJA organ of the Democratic Party, that the republic "has not committed itself to a confederation" as the model of the country's future organization.

We are not interested in the name of the future Yugoslav community, but we are insisting on agreement on its form, Gligorov said.

He said the committment expressed in the Macedonian parliament to a Yugoslavia as an "alliance of sovereign states" had provoked reactions in the press published in the republics which favour the federal option, in particular that published in Belgrade.

The phrase was used solely as a response to the denial of Macedonian statehood expressed by adherents of the federal system, Gligorov explained.

He said that in his view the advocates of a federal system viewed republics not as states but only as territorial units within one state, Yugoslavia, treated republican borders simply as administrative divisions, and argued that the only subject of international law [words indistinct] Gligorov recalled that [word indistinct] republics were being treated as states "from the very first post-war constitution."

The main advocates of a federal system are Serbia and Montenegro while Slovenia and Croatia favour a confederal model.

The Macedonian president pointed to the question of republican borders as another bone of contention with the "federalists."

"If the republics are simply administrative units, then their borders can be altered like communal borders, Gligorov told DEMOKRATIJA, adding that this could cause "numerous problems and heightened emotions."

Nationwide Population Figures Reported

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[Text] Belgrade, May 22 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's current population is 23,462,976, director of the Federal Statistics Office Dragutin Grupkovic told reporters in Belgrade today.

The census, conducted from April 1 through 15 this year, indicates that the country's population has grown by some 4.6 per cent in the past decade.

Grupkovic said the census had encompassed some 92 per cent of the Yugoslav population.

The ethnic Albanian population in the total figure is estimated, he said. The ethnic Albanian political parties in Serbia's southern province of Kosovo urged ethnic Albanians to boycott the census.

Kosovo has a majority ethnic Albanian population.

Stressing that the demographic distribution in the country was lopsided, Grupkovic said this was a major problem in the country's ethnic structure.

He said the population of Serbia's northern province, Vojvodina, had fallen over the past decade by 1.1 per cent, while that of Kosovo had grown by 23.4 percent.

The smallest average household is in Vojvodina—2.9 members, and the largest in the republic of Macedonia—4.5 members.

Some 600,000 Yugoslavs are temporarily employed abroad, Grupkovic said.

Journalists were also told that the cost of the census was about 200 million d-marks and that it would take three years to fully process the data collected—altogether about 100 million facts.